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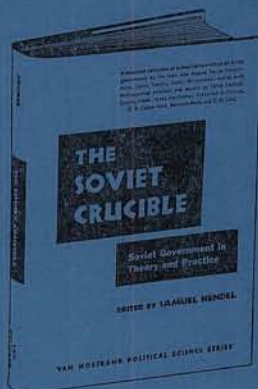
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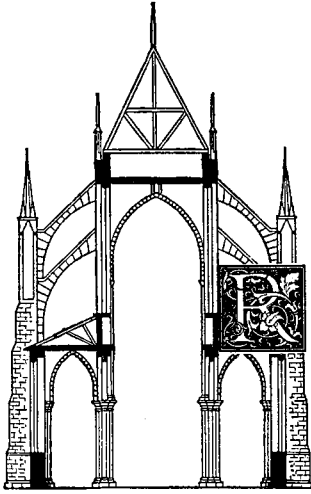
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Not Capulets, Not Montagus

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A CENTURY ago, as the older studies of American letters remind us, a famous school of literary historians, insouciantly romantic, was flourishing in this country. Prescott's masterpiece, *The Conquest of Mexico*, was but a dozen years old, and the third volume of his Philip II was fresh from the press; his admirers looked forward to the fourth, which he never wrote, for we mark this year the centenary of his death. Motley, after long grubbing in the coalpits of black-letter folios and European archives, had recently published his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, and was toiling on the vivid pages of *The United Netherlands*. The magniloquent George Bancroft was in full career. Parkman, retarded by nervous disease, had already gained some reputation from *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, and his *Pioneers of France in the New World* lay only a few years ahead. In Great Britain, Hallam, Macaulay,

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Napier, and Carlyle were world famous, read everywhere, and Froude had begun to achieve his more narrowly Anglo-American reputation. This school ruled history with a golden scepter of self-confident mastery. Macaulay, who went to his grave in the Abbey a century ago, had said that he expected to be read in the year 2,000, and dared add: "I sometimes think of the year 3,000."

But at that very time, a century since, historical writing was entering upon a colder and more austere era. Principles termed "scientific" were storming the fortresses of historical learning in Europe, and echoes of their conquests were reaching the United States. If we paused for definitions, we would tread upon dangerous ground. But with some sense of quaintness we may recall how leaders like Buckle discarded the religious interpretation of events and the Hegelian framework of thesis and antithesis; how they scorned the anthropomorphic doctrine that nations mature, decay, and die much as individuals grow, age, and die; and how they rejected Carlyle's belief that history is a tissue of the acts and ideas of great men. From the natural sciences they borrowed a mechanistic vocabulary, asserting that history is governed by forces or pressures. If the terminology thus first employed was primarily Newtonian, their ideology soon owed more to Darwinian thought. But they remained insistent on scientific methods, and set scholars to investigating the ecology of Greek culture, the structure of the Tory party, or the climate of Jacksonian thought, as if these were precise concepts.

That with the demise of the romantic, unscientific, and eloquent school of writers, our history ceased to be literature, is a fact so well accepted that recent works on American letters omit history altogether. It is less often noted that the rise of scientific history sharply limited the influence of the subject upon democracy. Historical study became compartmented into many specialities, economic, constitutional, social, political, and intellectual; it was approached with a more and more intricate elaboration of method; and much of it was completely dehumanized. Especially as written in our universities it lost the large public authority it once possessed. Its ideas counted, for nothing can stay an idea, but its texts made scant appeal to the general citizenship. When Macaulay sold 26,500 copies of his third and fourth volumes in Great Britain within ten weeks, and heard from Edward Everett that they out-distanced in America any book but the Bible and a few school manuals, he felt he was achieving his cardinal aim: he was affecting the ideas and action of the whole people. A workingmen's meeting sent him a vote of thanks for writing a book that they found as interesting as it was profitable. As scientific history rose, those ample days vanished; populations

swelled, libraries became universal, but the acceptance of historical works seemed to contract.

All the arts and the sciences, in contributing what they can to the instruction of democracy, face an increasingly difficult problem in communication.

The predicament of some branches of science is particularly painful, for their new-found power shapes the destiny of a citizenship which they can no longer reach. The mathematical physicists and nuclear specialists cannot hold effective intercourse even with the biologist, chemist, and astronomer, much less the lawyer, doctor, or merchant. For one reason, part of their knowledge is so esoteric that it can be explained only to a few highly proficient men; for another, national security forbids them to divulge more than a safe fraction of what is communicable. Nor is the scientist in these sensitive areas always sure of his knowledge. When Enrico Fermi reached the critical stage of his labor on the Manhattan project, he was not at all positive that the next step might not be catastrophic. He took every precaution, he had a cadmium solution ready to flood the atomic pile, but he could not give General Leslie R. Groves a firm guarantee of the result; it might be harmless or it might be stupendously disastrous. Science today originates weapons and strategic plans that shape not military decisions alone, but the most vital national policies. Yet the scientist is to a great extent insulated from the electorate which has hitherto believed that all major decisions rest with it or its chosen leaders. If anybody supposes that this fact does not give our scientific experts the profoundest uneasiness, he knows little about their recent discussions.

Meanwhile, such arts as music, painting, sculpture, and poetry face a quite different set of impediments in communicating with the public. In these august domains, innovation constantly wrestles with conservatism; and in recent years the gulf between the new music and traditional music, between modern painting and classic painting, between the sculpture of St. Gaudens and the sculpture of Henry Moore, has widened. The observer must straddle the gap between a small and growing body of enthusiasts on one side, and a determinedly skeptical body of Olympians on the other. In poetry the schism has become especially formidable, for not only does much recent poetry seem deliberately obscure, but as C. S. Lewis tells us, its obscurity is of a new type. In painting, the struggle, if of less general interest, is even more bitter. The enthusiasts believe they are conducting a happy revolution; the conservatives try to hold the line against what they regard as anarchy; and the public watches. All these arts should be democratic possessions, but which school is a democracy to accept? In its heart the public prefers the familiar and recognizable, but in its mind it knows that new

wine is always bursting old bottles. It realizes that when Mahonri Young commented acridly on Henry Moore that he liked sacred art but not holey art, he might be taking the same stand that Jeffrey took when he exclaimed of Wordsworth: "This will never do." The public cultivates tolerance, but meanwhile it feels confused. The arts, in short, are in such a state of internecine warfare that they find it hard to communicate.

History, in its efforts to reach the broadest public that it can profit, faces no such difficulties as science, for it is not impossibly esoteric in its discoveries. It faces no such difficulties as painting or music, for it remains firmly traditional in form; our most radical historians gladly cast their work in the same molds as Prescott and Parkman. History, apparently, should be able to keep its ancient rapport with the intelligent public without any severe perplexities. Why, then, the loss of its old status?

For the proud pretensions which historians once made to the instruction of a whole nation have long been abandoned. George Bancroft spoke of himself as holding his lamp to the feet of all good Americans, "the intelligence of the common mind," in accordance with his dictum: "The measure of the progress of civilization is the progress of the people." Richard Hildreth expressed a confident belief that America, and especially Americans of the younger generation, would read him with sympathetic appreciation. James Schouler in his first two volumes asserted that it was his intention "to interest and instruct my countrymen in a period . . . whose lessons are most salutary even at this day." Nicolay and Hay as late as 1886 could address the entire republic: "We commend the result of so many years of research and diligence to all our countrymen, North and South. . . ." While these assertions were not immodest, for their authors coupled with them an admission that they might fail, they are refreshing as the statement of an exalted ambition. They did honor to the historians and to the country. But nobody today would venture to speak to our 175,000,000 people in such terms.

Is this because Americans have lost their large degree of homogeneity? No such decline has taken place; our people use the same goods, live by the same basic assumptions, and show an even excessive standardization of taste. Is it because the educational level has fallen? Obviously it has risen. Is it because nationalism or patriotism has loosened its hold? The idea is absurd. Is it because changes in social habits, recreational impulses, and cultural pursuits have narrowed the ranks of serious readers? Not if the statistics of publishers and libraries are accurate. Why, then, do historians no longer speak of instructing the nation, and why do so few aspire to a general democratic public?

The full answer is complex, rooted in the increasing complexity of our civilization. But the central explanation of the change is connected with the sweeping transfer of history into scientific channels, and the effect of this transfer in widening the gap between history that is broadly acceptable and history that is academically acceptable. In proportion as history took a scientific coloration, employed mechanistic or evolutionary terms, and abandoned its old preoccupation with individual act and motive, it lost much of its serviceability to democratic needs. In proportion as it turned from Prescott and Parkman, Macaulay and Froude, to the new approaches represented by Buckle, Renan, and Burckhardt (I still speak of changes a century ago), its significance to the ordinary citizen paled. For it tended to place men and communities in a position where they were controlled by inexorable, impersonal pressures; where the citizen lost power to decide or move. The new history was soon given a special position in the United States by the rise of graduate instruction, emphasizing abstract ideas and detailed research. It became more original, but more confusing; more expert, but grayer and grimmer. The democratic public turned away from it. It turned to its own preference, the popular writers who remained faithful to a human, romantic, and stylistically appealing type of presentation; for it was this which Demos found usable.

At this point history lost much of its authority. Well-read men and women, even the college trained, began to feel that history must be either authoritative and dull or interesting and untrustworthy. Our academic historians did little, in general, to abate this suspicion; rather, they confirmed it by writing dull books and abusing bright ones. The democratic public, faced with this choice, never hesitated; it took the book which emphasized human motive and action almost every time.

But what, I may be asked at this point, is meant by the phrase "democratic public"?—and here we do clearly need a definition. Whenever I think of the relationships of history to democracy, I revert to an evening scene in a house just outside Dayton, Ohio. More accurately, it was a great stone and brick mansion of Georgian architecture, set in a grove of fine oaks, elms, and hickories overlooking a verdurous countryside. Its owner called it "Trails-end." Every evening he and I would return from some joint labor we were pursuing in town, where he owned the two principal dailies. While we ate dinner he would talk of his farm boyhood, his rise to wealth and power as editor-publisher, and of the reason why he housed his newspaper in a marble building resembling a bank—for the banks had once refused him some credit he desperately needed, and he took his amiable revenge in demon-

strating that a great newspaper could occupy a building finer than any banking house. He would talk of his friendships with Newton D. Baker and Tom L. Johnson, his skirmishes with Warren G. Harding and Boss George Cox of the opposite party, and his devotion to Woodrow Wilson.

Then, nightly, my host would settle me for further work in a sitting room upstairs, and down the vista of a long hallway I would see him in his library, in a pool of golden light from his lamp, reading. Two hours would pass, and he was still absorbed in his book. He read chiefly history and biography, for his name was James M. Cox, and he had made history himself. He had been governor of Ohio in a critical time, a counselor of great men, and a candidate for the presidency who, as everyone will now grant, should have won. At breakfast next morning we would talk sometimes of the news, but more often of the history he had read the previous night. Since the ten days at "Trailsend," I have thought of history for democracy as the kind of history preferred by my distinguished host. He had been too poor to continue schooling beyond the age of sixteen, and later too busy to educate himself systematically; but he had a keen appreciation of good historical writing, a lively mind, and a muscular grasp of problems past and present. His feeling for history was much that of another practical man of affairs with whom I often talked and corresponded, William Allen White—a journalist, a man unversed in scholarly lore, but a devourer of books and an acute judge of their merit. Their criteria of history were amateur criteria, but from every important standpoint but the expert's they were incisive and informed criteria.

These men, in a superior way because they were superior persons, typified the best democratic audience a historian can find. They expected the books they read to meet certain fundamental requirements, which, in an ascending order of importance, I would enumerate as four.

One is that history shall be offered in God's plenty, so that it shall be available for every need, taste, and mood. A broad catholicity should open it to the rich in knowledge and to those as ill-schooled as Macaulay's workingmen, to lovers of bare fact and votaries of interpretation, to the imaginative and the prosaic. Neither the pedant's nor the poet's contribution should be undervalued—and as Hazlitt says, pedant and poet are in some respects brothers. The second basic prescription is that a considerable part of history should be written with gusto, for those who will read with gusto; written with a delight that communicates itself to style. Who is the historian of gusto, of vivid delight? "He will make us see as living men the hardfaced archers of Agincourt, and the war-worn spearmen who followed Alexander

down beyond the rim of the known world. . . . We shall hear grate on the coasts of Britain the keels of the Low Dutch sea-thieves whose children's children were to inherit unknown continents." So wrote a president of the American Historical Association who was also, in his time, President of the United States. A third requirement is that a great part of the history shall be assimilable to current needs. The donnish mind retreats too easily into an antiquarian past, losing itself in Hannibal's strategy or Charlemagne's politics or Lollard pamphleteering as if they were detached entities. But the democratic public lives in the present and future, and except in moods of escapism wants history at least as directly apposite to its concerns as Gibbon's study of the Antonines was apposite to eighteenth-century England—which was very directly indeed.

The fourth and cardinal requirement is that the history offered a broad democratic public should not be dehumanized; that instead of dissecting impersonal forces, or presenting those misty wraiths the economic man or sociological man, the historian should narrate the past in terms of living men and women seen as individuals, groups, or communities; and that he should give due emphasis to personal motivation and initiative. John Richard Green said that English historical work had one special superiority, the sense of its writers "that government and outer facts are but the outcome of individual men, and men what body, mind, and spirit make them." Nor will the historian fail to allot due place to the accidental and irrational; those elements which, as Graham Wallas thought, make up a great part of current politics, and which have offered so much of the drama of this great motley, colorful, unpredictable world. Human choice and irrational fortuity are compounded in the kind of history that democracy recognizes.

The democratic audience which makes these requirements is not, I repeat, an audience merely of middlebrows and devotees of waist-high culture. It contains innumerable people who approach the competence of James M. Cox and William Allen White. It numbers many an austere intellectual. No less a thinker than Arthur O. Lovejoy, author of *The Great Chain of Being*, told me during the Second World War that he had gone into a shop to buy a book on disloyalty. He was shown two recent books on Civil War Copperheads, one of solid thoroughness by a university historian, with a full analysis of forces, and one by a newspaper editor which emphasized human elements. "I quickly saw which was the book for *me*," said Lovejoy; and with true democratic instinct, he took the human treatment. But those are poor Americans who make much of the lines which seem to separate lowbrow, middlebrow, and highbrow. In the last analysis we have but one democratic public

—the public to which Emerson and Lincoln spoke; and the rule of the historian in approaching it should be the hoary maxim of the newspaper offices, “Never overestimate the information of the public, but above all never underestimate its intelligence.”

The gap between popular history and academic history which, as I have said, the rise of scientific ideas long ago widened, would have been less serious but for a certain animosity on both sides. A phrase I have just used, the donnish (or professorial) mind, sums up the prejudice of the lay writer. On the other side, scholastic folk who speak with respect of a popular movement or popular faith will refer to popular history with scorn. This attitude is akin to the belief of some literary critics that since Longfellow and Walt Whitman are popular poets they must be bad poets. It also springs, more legitimately, from the belief that history is a discipline, and that the amateur or lay practitioner stands outside the fold. The gap is on many counts unfortunate, and should be narrowed by better understanding, better taste, and better civility on both sides. Any inquiry into the mode of effecting this result must begin with a scrutiny of the causes of distrust.

The suspicion which we historians of the academic guild feel for our lay brethren outside has something to support it in this just-mentioned assumption that history at its best is an arduous discipline. In every field, the conscientiously trained expert reprobrates short cuts to mastership. The professional musician who devotes years of toil to mastery of the piano knows that an advertisement offering proficiency in ten easy lessons is just a cruel hoax. The true economist knows that nobody is more dangerous than the politician who merely *thinks* he knows the principles of economics. The professional student of literature, trained in prosody, philology, and criticism, is contemptuous of the man who supposes that an easy chair and a five-foot shelf will produce a literary scholar. In all learning, the promise of a shortcut is the will-o'-the-wisp glimmering over a perilous bog. The dullest monograph writer, meticulous in stating facts and conclusions, at any rate helps to build a granite foundation, while the random popularizer destroys true knowledge.

The new mass media have heightened the spirit of apprehensive caution within our guild by increasing the danger that careless popularizations of history will mean their vulgarization. Motion pictures, radio, and television are guilty of some horrible distortions of truth. Perhaps the direct harm they do is seldom great. As Francis Bacon said, “It is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth, that doeth the hurt”; and the worst inflictions of the mass media seldom sink in far.

Nevertheless, they destroy a taste for what is veracious and fine in the same way that meretricious books destroy a taste for literature. In looking at popularizations in any form, moreover, the experienced guild historian feels a certain despair over their inevitable simplifications. He knows how intricate are the complexities of great events, how deeply submerged are the subtler elements, how delicate are the shadings to be put into an interpretive painting. Truth, writes Renan, lies in the nuances—and how seldom does popularized history have any nuances. Some of its productions possess a flash and glitter that momentarily delight us, but when the moment passes, we wryly comment: “C’est magnifique, mais ce n’est pas l’histoire.”

We professional historians have other hesitations and objections. One of the most important arises from our feeling that the work done by general writers is, taken as a whole, spasmodic and unplanned, and that the profit motive is too exclusively the stimulus. By contrast, we say, our well-marshaled ranks try to cover the past in systematic fashion. Our careful division of areas of interest assists us in this. Some leading scholar will point out a gap; instantly a half dozen younger men leap to fill it. Or another scholar propounds what seems a fruitful thesis; at once disciples arise to apply it to this or that segment of the past. It is we who have toiled most continuously to build specialized libraries and fill teeming archives; we who have organized research projects, and trained the workers; we whose criticism is the best touchstone separating good books from poor ones. We, in short, have given history its firmest foundations.

The guild historian also takes a just pride in his carefully developed equipment: in his knowledge of the rules of historical evidence, in his techniques ranging from medieval calligraphy to present-day diplomatic usages, in the tough-minded skepticism and flashes of insight gained by long study. By such expertness alone he avoids pitfalls like Carlyle’s use of the Tompkins forgeries in his life of Cromwell. He knows that the footnotes to which amateurs take exception not only guide other searchers, but serve the writer by compelling him to restrict himself to validated materials. On all this he does well to insist. But if he plants himself too arrogantly on such advantages, and if he tries to limit the popular function in historical writing, he will have to reckon with the court of last resort, the democratic public.

For the general writer of history, appealing to the general reader, has a basis for equally trenchant suspicions of the academic approach. These suspicions are not to be taken lightly, if only because he has with him the weight of numbers and influence. The engineer, the physician, the chemist would feel deeply disturbed by a suggestion that he was losing rapport with

the public he serves. The professional historian cannot afford to be less sensitive. He affects democratic action in three principal ways, by giving occasional guidance to leaders, by affording instruction to the general citizenship, and by helping create a climate of opinion. He will do well to listen respectfully to criticism from workers outside the guild. In most fields, in this country with its long tradition of the versatile amateur, a well-led revolt against excessive professional claims is always assured of wide support. From the days of Winfield Scott to those of Tasker H. Bliss and George Marshall, our people have rejected the idea that only West Point graduates should command our armies. The aphorism of Clemenceau about war and military experts has been applied in our time to experts in pedagogy who asserted a complete right to control our schools: "Education is too important to be left to the educationists." Were we less modest, it could be applied to us: "History is far too important to be left to the professional historians."

The principal reproach that writers outside the guild bring against us is rooted in a different sense of values from ours, which we may well pause to examine.

In striving to present the truth about the past, any historian must rely upon the fullest possible research, upon strict care to avoid factual error, upon his best powers of insight and judgment, and upon due use of the imagination. Of these four parts of his panoply two are easily measured. It is not difficult to demonstrate the adequacy of research in Channing, and inadequacy in much of Schouler; the infrequency of factual error in Gardiner, and frequency in Froude. The failure to use insight to reach a deeper truth, however, is not so easily detected. As for imagination, its absence will never be noted by many pedestrian students, some of whom will even omit it from the list of historical essentials. Yet its supreme importance is stated with characteristic force by Parkman in the preface to *La Salle and the Great West*. "Faithfulness to the truth of history," he writes, "involves far more than a research, however scrupulous, into special facts. Such facts may be detailed with the most minute exactness, and yet the narrative, taken as a whole, may be unmeaning or untrue. The narrator must seem to imbue himself with the life and spirit of the time. He must study events in their bearings near and remote; in the character, habits, and manners of those who took part in them. He must be, as it were, a sharer or spectator of the action he describes."

The principal criticism which general readers and writers level against our guild is this, that of the four parts of our equipment—fullness of research, accuracy, insight, and imagination—we overvalue the first and second, and

undervalue the last two. The democratic audience which yearns for a usable image of the past knows that any history falls short of complete truth. Knowing this, they set less store on absolute precision of detail than we professional historians do. Every historical work of any scope contains inaccuracies; the scrupulously careful Douglas Freeman once told me with pardonable pride that he had found only about fifty slips in his four-volume *Lee*. General readers brush minor errata aside. When a historian gives a picture of the Armada's defeat in the compelling form in which Froude and Motley give it, they will feel no sense of outrage if the number of guns in Drake's command is slightly misstated. Their complaint against the academic historian is that his sense of values is often faulty. For most academic historians, alas, will insist that the number of guns be stated with documented precision, but leave the narrative of the Armada so opaque that no reader catches his breath as that great sinister cloud of canvas creeps up over the Channel horizon.

That a piece of historical writing may be accurate in every detail and yet misleading, while another narrative may be flawed with inaccuracies and yet luminous with truth, is a fact which James M. Cox knew without benefit of high school. The intelligent reader knows also that an author of insight may make more from a few artifacts than the most laborious investigator sometimes makes from a rich archive. He knows, too, that the historian's imagination, used aright, need go only half way to inspire the reader to use his own imagination for the rest of the road. For the best reader of history, as of poetry and fiction, wishes to build something by his own vision; to assist the author in what Michelet said Thierry achieved, a resurrection. Human life without some form of poetry is mere animal existence, and the lay or democratic reader of history is often quicker to value its poetic elements than is the academic student. He lifts a book with the hope that it will kindle his imagination.

How does imagination speak to imagination in history? Why, just precisely as in poetry. Milton created in *Paradise Lost* a heaven, a hell, and a Garden of Eden—a cosmogony which dominated the imagination of the English-reading world so effectively that it came to be accepted as verity. Churchmen complained that Milton's Seventh Book supplanted the Biblical account of the same matters. Scientists complained that the Miltonian image took a firmer hold on men's minds than the Copernican reality; Huxley, for example, in the middle of the nineteenth century said that it seemed impossible to overthrow that epic cosmogony. How did Milton accomplish his feat? By the imaginative use of materials already in men's possession. He

did not have to create his celestial, infernal, and mundane personages, for they already existed. Everybody was familiar with the Father and Son, with Satan and Beelzebub, with Adam, Eve, and the archangels; everybody, when Milton wrote, believed intensely in them. By quickening and brightening the familiar data in his own alembic, Milton kindled the public imagination to the point where it accepted a whole new universe.

Similarly, the democratic reader opens a book with hope that the historian will use men and events already vaguely familiar to him, kindle his imagination, and thus help him create a rounded world. Such readers know a good deal about Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, about George III, Lord North, and Lafayette, about Mount Vernon, Windsor, and Versailles; they are ready to have these images enclosed in a radiant new sphere even more real than the everyday world about them. They know a great deal about Elizabeth and Mary of Scotland, Burleigh and Essex, Raleigh and Bacon; they hope the historian will not merely provide new facts and fresh insights, but weave an incantation about these personages that will give the Tudor era as much immediacy as the Eisenhower era. The inert reader, like the unimaginative historian, never penetrates deeply into the past; but many readers are passionately anxious to make themselves spiritually, almost corporeally, at home there. Perhaps one error we guild historians too often make is to suppose that all readers are inert vessels; perhaps a complementary mistake is to suppose we must conduct readers every step of the way, spelling out each detail. How the cry of Xenophon's men as they reached the Trebizond shore, "Thalatta! Thalatta!" has echoed down twenty-four centuries; yet how few lines Xenophon gave that dramatic moment in his *Anabasis*—so few that when blind Joseph Pulitzer heard his secretary read the famous passage, he could not restrain his disappointment. Xenophon had left something to the imagination.

Not only do nonacademic writers of history question our sense of values in putting too much emphasis on research and accuracy at the expense of insight and imagination. They question our sense of values again with respect to the comparative worth of the closet approach to history, and the approach through the practical world. They ask us if the political historian who has never testified before a congressional committee, or written a speech for a governor or mayor, or haunted the city hall for a year, is not handicapped as compared with the man who has; whether Claude G. Bowers' secretaryship with Senator John W. Kern of Indiana was not worth more to him than a graduate school. It is important to study the world of books, but it is equally important to study the book of the world.

And though it is true that in the recent wars most of us heard the bursting of bombs and bore our shield and buckler, the danger of a retreat into the sequestered tower remains. Perhaps the conviction of Gibbon—less than five feet tall, with a mincing carriage and humiliating ailments—that he wrote better history because he had been a militia officer and a member of Parliament was partly vanity. But Macaulay's emphatic endorsement of the statement is still worth our recollection. "We have not the smallest doubt," wrote Macaulay, "that his campaigns, though he never saw an enemy, and his parliamentary attendance, though he never made a speech, were of far more use to him than years of study and retirement would have been. If the time he spent on parade and at mess in Hampshire, or on the treasury bench and at Brooks's, during the storms which overthrew Lord North and Lord Shelburne, had been passed in the Bodleian library, he might have avoided some inaccuracies; he might have enriched his notes with a greater number of references; but he could never have produced so lively a picture of the court, the camp, and the senate house." There spoke the historian whose *Criminal Code* was the law of India for decades. What would Macaulay have made of Sir Winston Churchill's training as historian?

We of the academic fold must admit that here the outsiders have their point. Lord Acton probably never saw Thomas Hart Benton's boast in his *Thirty Years' View* that he possessed one qualification for writing history in his *inside* knowledge of how it was made. But Acton would have approved it. For Acton, as Bryce once remarked, believed that the best explanation of what occurred in the light was to be found in what had occurred in the dark. "He was always hunting for the key to secret chambers, preferring to believe that the grand staircase is only for show, and meant to impose upon the multitude, while the real action goes on in the hidden passages behind. . . . One was sometimes disposed to wonder whether he did not think too much about the backstairs. But he had seen a great deal of history in the making." If Acton's view is valid that seven-eighths of history, like the iceberg, lies submerged, then the hidden mass will be less readily divined by a closet-scholar measuring from the tip than by a George Bancroft who knew the secrets of Polk's cabinet. How valuable James Breck Perkins must have found his long service in the House, culminating in the chairmanship of the Foreign Affairs Committee, for analyzing the policies of Richelieu and Mazarin; how useful Albert J. Beveridge must have found his familiarity with Indiana politics and the Senate chamber in assessing the actions of Lincoln, Douglas, and Trumbull.

Finally, if we guild historians complain that most general writers pro-

duce their books in random, unplanned fashion, the lay historians can say in reply that our academic pressures distort historical writing in two antithetical ways. First, we demand of immature scholars that they publish, or pay the penalty in years of unpromoted purgatory, and second, we simultaneously paralyze some mature and gifted men by making them feel they must run the gauntlet of critics who require perfection. The first distortion is not important, for immature books that answer questions nobody ever asked, or ever will ask, soon find oblivion. The second distortion is real and disastrous. Rarely outside academic circles do we meet the historian who achieves a massive reputation by the book he is always about to publish, but never publishes. There we too often meet him. Reports circulate of the coming masterwork, scholars refer to it in awed tones, and at the end we find a repetition of Balzac's story of *Le Chef d'Oeuvre Inconnu*. Such a scholar is always telling us when he will finish his book, but he never tells us when he will begin it. The writer may be numbed by a variety of circumstances, but too often it is by fear of his critics.

For a long generation our historical guild very properly revered no name more than that of J. Franklin Jameson. He embodied an ideal spirit of intense, dedicated scholarship. His active career spanned the period between the last books of Bancroft and Parkman and the first books of many men writing today. So broad was his knowledge, so disciplined his mind, so refined his taste, that to converse with him was to feel a bracing northwest wind. He used to say to friends, as he once said to me, "I have never written a book"; and though this was not literally true, it was true in the sense he intended. His services to history would have been richly memorable had he never penned a line. Then, in 1925, the aging Dr. Jameson, contrary to his rule, consented to deliver a series of lectures. He picked up again the lectures he had originally prepared for delivery at Barnard in 1895. The result of this invitation from the Vanuxem Foundation of Princeton was a book he had never really intended to publish, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*. For him this was a great concession, the more remarkable in that it was really a book of popular history—for any scholar who accepts such a lectureship contracts to be interesting to a wide audience. These four lectures might have been printed as magazine articles. When they were finished Dr. Jameson was a little astonished at himself, as his friends were astonished. The brief volume, now a classic, sharpens our feeling of regret that this great scholar was not so circumstanced, or so self-impelled, that he wrote more books. Perhaps he too feared the critics—above all, his self-criticism.

The nonacademic historian will never admit that overproduction can be as bad as denial of production, for time winnows it. Theodore Roosevelt in reviewing several new historical books once stated the lay attitude. After noting that Gilbert Murray's *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Henry Osborn Taylor's *The Medieval Mind*, and T. R. Lounsbury's *Fenimore Cooper* were actually disliked by some scholars because they were beautifully written and divorced from aridity, he expressed his views on productive effort with characteristic emphasis. "What counts in a man or nation," he wrote, "is not what the man or nation can do, but what he or it actually does. Scholarship that consists in mere learning, but finds no expression in production, may be of interest or value to the individual, just as ability to shoot well at clay pigeons may be of interest and value to him, but it ranks no higher unless it finds expression in achievement. From the standpoint of the nation, and from the broader standpoint of mankind, scholarship is of chief worth when it is productive, when the scholar not merely receives or acquires, but gives." Of all the parables, declares the lay writer, the academic world should most ponder that of the talent laid away in a napkin.

And if we academic historians can say, as assuredly we can, that our zeal has done most to build the specialized libraries and fill the teeming archives, that we have organized the great research projects and trained the workers, that our criticism goes furthest to separate the grain from the chaff, that in short we have laid the firmest foundations, the nonacademic historian has his counterclaim. It is we, he says, who have done most to keep the interest of the masses in history alive; it is we who have created and nourished a large popular market for historical and biographical books; and it is we who keep the breezes of concern with the human and dramatic aspects of history whipping into your stuffy classrooms.

History, writes Ludwig Dehio in his recent book on Germany and world politics, has lost influence in continental Europe. This is not the fact in Britain or America, where its spontaneity and exuberance have never been greater. In this country countless newspapers and magazines carry historical material, our hundreds of radio stations are glad to use historical lectures and dramatizations, and history is a frequent visitor on television. It blossoms forth in novels, in collections of pictures, and in the book-magazine *American Heritage* with its circulation of 330,000. Our great industries publish historical brochures that are often conscientiously written and illustrated. The spate sweeps into the best-seller lists a steady line of books ranging in theme from Katharine of Aragon to William McKinley, from the tragedy of Wolsey to the tragedy of Wilson. The academic world

and the lay world should be sharers in the inspiration and opportunities of this torrential demand.

The annals of the republic have no more remarkable illustration of the force with which popular interest in history may burst aloft, like a released fountain, than in the passion with which our democratic public has taken up the Civil War. This impulse long anticipated the centenary of the conflict. Purely spontaneous, it can be traced to no book or event, though *Gone with the Wind*, *John Brown's Body*, and Sandburg's *Lincoln* doubtless helped to ignite the interest. With astonishing suddenness, as the last survivors died, books on the war multiplied, enthusiastic study circles bloomed in towns and cities all over the map, a quarterly review sprang into life, and men young and old became greater experts in Stonewall Jackson's strategy than in Babe Ruth's exploits on the diamond. Nor did this passionate rediscovery of our most epic years have merely superficial effects. It has produced several books which may be called literature, it has found a wide market for works of the most robust scholarship, it has encouraged university presses as well as commercial publishers to revive standard historical works, and it has altered the whole popular perspective on the past.

Such an ebullition suggests that the appetite of 175,000,000 Americans for history—Americans more and more largely educated through high school if not college—will not be satisfied in the future without a distinct broadening of effort, and in particular a greater attention to a humanized and attractive presentation of the past. It suggests that in this broadened effort the mutual suspicions of the guild historians and the popular historians will be increasingly out of place; that they should join hands, not Capulets, not Montagus, but partners. Indeed, a rapprochement has already taken place. The guild has become more humanistic and literary, and the best nonacademic writers have grown more scholarly; the H. L. Mencken jibe at the professoriat, and the pundit's sneer at the unlearned, both have a hollow note. Certainly when the academic historian pauses to look at the diplomatist who has written the history of Soviet-American relations just after the First World War, the airline executive who has penned a masterly biographical volume on Theodore Roosevelt, the free-lance woman writer who has reburnished the fame of Lord Coke, the musician who has so eloquently explored the four-century chronicle of the Rio Grande, and the newspaperman who has told how silence fell at Appomattox, he will not feel the partnership unequal. In increasing degree, we are all amateurs, we are all professionals.

If history is to regain its place as instructor of the whole democracy,

if it is to communicate with intelligent men as freely as in the year when Prescott and Macaulay died, the academic scholar will have to teach the layman something about precision and depth, while the lay writer will have to teach us a good deal about human warmth and literary form. We can be severe on both sides without animosity or arrogance. We are both servants of Truth, with about an equal amount of selfishness and unselfishness, conscientiousness and carelessness. Cardinal Newman remarked in *The Idea of a University* that mutual education is one of the great incessant occupations of human society, "carried on partly with set purpose, and partly not." In what is taught without set purpose, by examples, we of the guild will have most to learn. But in that part of mutual instruction which is undertaken of set purpose, we professional historians should make the largest advances, for we have the greater duty.

Ours is the greater duty because we are organized, and the lay writers of history and biography are not. Along with our academic and professional organizations, we have a wealth of apparatus—the libraries and manuscripts, the grants, the favorable arrangements as to work and leisure, the basic security—which most outside historians lack. Moreover, the guild historian occupies a position to which (though it may be hard for him to believe) the extra-academic writer usually defers. No one who has not been outside the guild, as I long was, can appreciate how keenly the lay historian, often all self-taught, all unguided, feels his exclusion from what he deems the advantages of the professional sphere. Most well-established university teachers have often been embarrassed, I dare say, by the diffidence with which important authors outside Academe have come to them, as if they had access to some arcanum of knowledge and skill which few could hope to share. And as a final reason why we have a greater duty in effecting harmonious relations, in establishing some sense of partnership, nearly all of us are attached to what we may loosely call a public-service institution. We should see that public service means something.

Greater cordiality toward writers of history and biography who are not teachers, and a stronger effort to draw them into our councils, would befit a body theoretically so catholic as the American Historical Association. The work of these men and women is by no means ignored, for it is far too important to be ignored. But how much are they made to feel at home with us? A list of authors, for example, of standard lives of American Presidents includes nearly a score of living or recently living writers of nonacademic positions: Douglas Freeman for Washington; Claude G. Bowers and Marie Goebel for Jefferson; Catherine Drinker Bowen for John

Adams; Irving Brant for Madison; Marquis James for Jackson; Holmes Alexander for Van Buren; Freeman Cleaves for Harrison; Sandburg and Ben Thomas for Lincoln; George Fort Milton for Andrew Johnson; myself in newspaper days for Cleveland; Margaret Pulitzer for McKinley; Carleton Putnam for Roosevelt; Henry Pringle for Taft; and William Allen White for Coolidge. How many of these were earnestly and frequently urged to write papers, or sit on committees, or hold offices in this Association? Of all the persons I have listed, only one ever became president of this Association, and he, I fear, only because he rose (or sank) from a position in the fourth estate to a chair in Columbia University. Yet Douglas Freeman, like Claude G. Bowers, like, I may add, James Truslow Adams, like other outside historians, would greatly have valued the distinction; and the active participation of one or most of them in our affairs would by no means have detracted from the Association's vitality of action or breadth of view.

We are all amateurs, we are all professionals. Perhaps what we all most need is a dual sense of humility; humility because we know that however hard we search for Truth we shall not quite find it, humility because we are in the last analysis servants of the democratic public. That public has just come through a terrible period of confusion, effort, and disaster, and lives on in a period of intense strain. It needs all the sense of pattern, all the moral fortitude, all the faith in the power of liberty and morality to survive the assaults of tyranny and wrong, that historians of every school can give it. This is a time not for arrogance, disdain, or rivalry, but for union in a common and exalted effort.

Early Medieval Trade Routes

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THE techniques and methodology of numismatics as an ancillary science were developed through the study of the ancient world. The application of numismatics to the study of the medieval world is of much more recent origin. This, of course, is not to say that some great medievalists such as Henri Pirenne and art historians of the stature of André Grabar have not utilized numismatic data in their own researches. By and large, however, scholars of the Middle Ages have neglected the vast mine of material available to them in the form of thousands of monetiform objects which have resisted the onslaught of time.

Perhaps the study of a single limited problem in which a new synthesis is reached can serve to demonstrate the utility of numismatic research. The problem we shall attack had its origins in a simple numismatic oddity that escaped mention by most numismatists and virtually all historians. Its solution appears to have vital implications and ramifications for the interpretation of the history of the early Middle Ages. Historians and numismatists have been struck by the longevity of the Byzantine solidus from the time of Constantine to the siege of Constantinople by the Turks and by the persistence of the Byzantines in maintaining that coin at a given weight and fineness for the entire early Middle Ages. There are, however, three generally ignored series of Byzantine solidi that were issued in the sixth and seventh centuries which deviated from this legal weight and standard, though both the weight and fineness were expressly stipulated in the Theodosian and Justinian recensions of Roman law. This variation from the norm in the case of coins obviously marked to indicate excessive lightness and a lesser degree of fineness cannot be the result of anything but a manifestation of an imperial policy which was deliberately carried out. Coinage in gold was a jealously guarded prerogative of the Byzantine emperor, as we know from statements by Ammianus Marcellinus, Procopius, Zonaras, and other late Roman authors as well as from the numerous laws regarding

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the striking of gold.¹ In one instance the Byzantines fought a war against the rising power of Islam because the tribute payments had been made in a new variety of gold coin which was not of imperial origin.² Still there are three series of gold solidi of twenty siliquae, twenty-two siliquae, and twenty-three siliquae respectively which are clearly of Byzantine origin and noticeably different from the normal solidus of twenty-four siliquae.

On the bases of two passages in Procopius referring to the issuance of light weight solidi in terms of disapproval, the introduction of these coins can be dated to A.D. 547-548.³ They continued to be issued until about A.D. 670. Thus they cover a crucial period for the understanding of the Pirenne thesis.

What was the purpose of these coins and why was their issue stopped about A.D. 670? A survey of the finds of these solidi shows a distinct concentration of them along a route from northern Italy over the Alps and down the Rhine to Frisia and Britain. Another concentration, but one of later date, occurs in the Ukraine along the Dnieper. Three scattered specimens were found in the upper Balkans, one in North Africa, and some few in a single hoard from near Antioch in Syria. Only the single coin from North Africa and those from the Syrian hoard were found on territory that was at the time under Byzantine domination.⁴ From this distribution

¹ In A.D. 365 the usurper Procopius sent men bearing *aureos nummos* with his portrait to secure Illyricum for himself. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVI, 7, 11 (ed. Viktor E. Gardthausen [Leipzig, 1893-95], II, 81). He failed in his attempt, but the fact that he could expect results from such a maneuver is indicative of the belief that the striking of gold was an imperial prerogative. Previously the Emperor Julian, in the course of describing his actions against Constantius II, made a point of saying that he enjoyed the right to coin in gold and silver as a justification for his imperial position. Julian, *Epistola ad Senatum Populumque Atheniensem*, 287A (ed. Frederick C. Hertlein [Leipzig, 1875-76], I, 369). Procopius, *History of the Wars*, VII, 33, 5-6 (ed. Jacob Haury [Leipzig, 1905-13], II, 442-43) and Zonaras, XIV, 22 (ed. Ludwig A. Dindorf [Leipzig, 1868-75], III, 321), specifically state that it was not lawful for anyone but the Roman emperor to issue gold currency.

² Zonaras, XIV, 22 (ed. Dindorf, III, 321), tells us that Justinian Rhinotmetus went to war against 'Abd-al-Malik because the Caliph had dared to pay tribute in the newly established Arabic gold coinage. James D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (685-695, 705-711 A.D.) (New York, 1959), 69-70, presents extremely cogent arguments for denying the accuracy of the account by Zonaras.

³ Procopius, *Anecdota*, XXV, 11-12 (ed. Jacob Haury [Leipzig, 1905-13], III, Pt. 1, 155), indicated that these coins were struck while Theodora was still alive. The Empress died in A.D. 548. In another passage (*ibid.*, XXII, 38 [ed. Haury, III, Pt. 1, 140]) Procopius dates the issuance of these solidi during the tenure of John Barsymes as treasurer for the second time, i.e., from 547 to some time after A.D. 555. Thus it must have taken place in 547-548. Cf. Ioannis Malalas, *Chronographia*, XVIII, O, 231C (ed. Ludwig A. Dindorf [Bonn, 1831], 486), where it is stated that in March 554 there was a disturbance among the lower classes because of the changing value of the *kermata*, copper coinage, but that when news of the riots was brought to the Emperor Justinian, he ordered that the coins be restored to their former value. This cannot refer to the same event.

⁴ The find spots are: Udine and Cividale in northern Italy; Hoischhügel in Carinthia; an unknown site in southern Germany; Munningen near Nordlingen; Müllingsen near Soest; Sinzig near Ahrweiler; Wonsheim near Alzey; Pfahlheim near Ellwangen; Wieuwerd, Cornwerd, and Nietap in Frisia; Mons in Belgium; Kent in England; Wilton in Norfolk, England; an unknown

of the finds it is evident that these light weight solidi were not intended for use within the boundaries of the Empire. In fact, a great deal of literary and legal evidence can be cited to prove that their circulation within the Empire was forbidden.⁵

These coins were struck in the period immediately following the *Völkerwanderung*. The appearance of the Germanic tribes on the Roman side of the *limes* was not without its effect, even though there was a cultural continuum. Merchants of western origin had declined in importance during the period of the Roman Empire, and their position had been taken by easterners—Syrians, Jews, and Greeks.⁶ This process, which began quite early, was greatly accelerated by the Germanic invasions. The importance

site in the Balkans; Sadowetz in northern Bulgaria; Szentes in Hungary; North Africa (probably Carthage); Hama in Syria; Dnieper Delta in the Ukraine; Pereschtschepino and Zatschepilovo near Poltawa. These finds and the literature concerning them are discussed in my book *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries* (New York, 1957).

⁵ See particularly Gregory I, *Registrum*, VI, 10 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [hereafter cited as *MGH*], *Epp.*, I, 389), and *ibid.*, III, 33 (*MGH*, *Epp.*, I, 191). Cf. *Nov. Maioriani*, VII, 1, 14 (A.D. 458) (ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul M. Meyer, *Codex Theodosianus* [Berlin, 1905], III, 171). Adrien Blanchet, "Les 'sous Gaulois' du v^e siècle," *Le Moyen Âge*, 2d ser., XIV (Jan.-Feb. 1910), 45-48, held that this refers to poor alloy in the gold coinage. Maurice Prou, *Les Monnaies mérovingiennes: Catalogue des monnaies françaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1892), xvi, and Ernest Babelon, "La Siliqua romaine, le sou et le denier de la loi des Francs Saliens," *Journal des Savants* (Feb. 1901), 120, believed that this refers to a light weight coinage. In any event this shows that the Romans did not accept all gold coinage at full value. See also *Leges Burgundionum, Constitutiones Extravagantes*, XXI, 7 (*MGH, Leges, Sectio I, II, Pt. 1, 120-21*), which shows that the Germanic barbarians as well knew of certain gold coins that were not universally acceptable. Cf. St. Avitus, *Epistolae*, LXXXVII (*MGH, A.A.*, VI, 96). The reference to *Formulae Lindenbrogianae*, lxxii, which is sometimes mentioned in this connection, can be shown to be spurious on the basis of the best edition of that text in *MGH, Leges, Sectio V, 77*.

⁶ Pierre Lambrechts, "Le Commerce des 'Syriens' en Gaule du Haut-Empire à l'époque mérovingienne," *L'Antiquité Classique*, VI (Apr. 1937), 35-61, maintained that prior to the *Völkerwanderung* the Gauls themselves carried on the trade in the western Mediterranean. According to Lambrechts numerous oriental merchants entered Gaul in Merovingian times and replaced the native entrepreneurs who had been ruined by the economic difficulties of the third and fourth centuries as well as by the Germanic invasions. Cf. Vasile Pârvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im römischen Kaiserreiche* (published doctoral dissertation, Breslau, 1909). George I. Brătianu, "Une nouvelle histoire de l'Europe au moyen-âge: La fin du monde antique et le triomphe de l'Orient," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XVIII (Jan.-Mar. 1939), 252-66, held that the troubles of the third century caused a population decline, particularly in the West, and a consequent shift in the center of economic life eastward. The conquests of Islam, in his view, completed the process, while the anti-Semitism of the Byzantines resulted in a westward migration of Jewish merchants, making possible the Carolingian stabilization at a lower level than had been attained in the earlier period. Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, tr. Frank D. Halsey (Princeton, N. J., 1948), 5, held that by the fourth century the economic supremacy of the East was manifest. Louis Bréhier, "Les colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du moyen-âge," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XII (No. 1, 1903), 1-39, pointed to the increasing importance of the oriental communities in the West. This was accentuated by the Byzantine reconquest. Before the Germanic invasions the Orientals tended to assimilate into the communities within which they lived, but after the *Völkerwanderung* they were continually noted as a separate entity. See also Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, "Kleinere Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters IV: Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (66 vols., Innsbruck, 1885), VI, 520-50.

of merchants of eastern origin during the Merovingian period in Gaul is certainly more marked than during the preceding Roman epoch or the following Carolingian age. This is not merely a quantitative but a qualitative point as well. The number of Orientals cannot be estimated other than by the fact that on certain occasions, such as the entrance of Gontran into Orleans, the three separate communities—Syrians, Jews, and Latins—were mentioned individually as though they were all of some size. A list of cities in which the Orientals resided would not in itself be of any importance, but their growing influence is a matter that can easily be traced not only by their frequent assumption of the ecclesiastical posts of the West, such as the see of St. Peter, but even in the constant stream of art motifs and works that are oriental in origin.⁷

The natural concomitant of this growing importance of a nonnative element in the life of Western Europe, of course, was the gradual decline of the Gallo-Roman element to a point where it lost its identity in the mélange of the rising Germanic barbarians. More properly it may be said that the Germans and the natives fairly rapidly approximated one another culturally and in other ways. The granting of the right of *conubium* among the Visigoths in the sixth century is proof of the rapid Romanization of the Germanic peoples throughout Western Europe. Not only did the Germans adopt Roman culture and forms, but the native elements in the population declined in self-consciousness at the same time, and common ground was reached very quickly after the influx of the barbarians had ceased. This decline, however, did not cause a break in the unity of the Roman Mediterranean, and contacts with the seat of Byzantine culture were many. Internal decline was evident in the late fourth century. The Germanic invasions merely hastened the process so that the economic supremacy of the East became more and more manifest. This internal decline is made somewhat more evident by the fact that in the areas conquered by the barbarians it was not the solidus that was the principal coin but the triens, which was only one-third of the Byzantine piece. The eventual cessation of coinage in gold in meaningful quantities for exchange is in great measure a result of this continuous decline that accompanied the fragmentation of the political structure, so that no state in Western Europe was strong enough to guarantee currency for its coinage as Rome had done.⁸

The most outstanding feature of the early Middle Ages is this cultural

⁷ Louis Bréhier, "Les colonies d'Orientaux." See also O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, Eng., 1911), 87-88, and Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, tr. Bernard Miall (New York, 1939), 129-39.

⁸ This was the view of Marc Bloch, "Le problème de l'or au moyen-âge," *Annales d'his-*

and economic decline and the fusion of the Germanic and Roman peoples. Of course this aspect of life in the early medieval period did not proceed at a constant rate, nor was it uniform throughout the West. Conditions north of the Loire reached a much lower point than those found in southern Gaul, where the Germanic penetration was much less real.⁹ The Gaul described by Ammianus Marcellinus, however, was quite different from that described by Gregory of Tours. Roman civilization, it has been shown by Pirenne and Alfons Dopsch, did not disappear in one fell stroke, but certainly the decadence of ancient culture was accelerated during the bleaker periods. The Vandal conquest of North Africa must have been one of the events that hastened this process of decline, and during the reign of Geiseric Vandal fleets undoubtedly ravaged the shipping of the Mediterranean with impunity, but this was not a condition of any permanence.¹⁰ The basic economic and cultural unity of the Mediterranean remained, but the supremacy of the East became ever more marked. Feuding and warfare punctuated the lives of western Europeans, but the ubiquitous class of merchants continued to ply their trade so successfully that during the early fifth century the gold solidus seems to have become the standard coin used in southern Scandinavia.

As the pressure of the Germanic tribes increased during the last years of the fourth century and the early years of the fifth, the economic conditions within the Empire declined. This brought about a greater dependence upon the use of gold rather than fiduciary money. At the same time the Germanic peoples became increasingly aware of the monetary value of gold, and this led to a steady increase in its use among them. Silver coinage had fluctuated too much in value as a result of the emperors' financial difficulties in earlier periods. Consequently, the Germanic tribes' marked preference for silver currency, which had been noted by Tacitus, died. They fully realized the usefulness of gold currency during their invasions of the Empire.

toire économique et sociale, V (Jan. 1933), 18-24. See also George I. Brătianu, "La distribution de l'or et les raisons économiques de la division de l'Empire Romain," *Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale* (Paris, 1938), 75.

⁹ Pierre Lambrechts, "Les thèses de Henri Pirenne sur la fin du monde antique et les débuts du moyen-âge," *Byzantion*, XIV (No. 2, 1939), 526 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. Norman H. Baynes, "The Decline of Roman Power in Western Europe: Some Modern Explanations," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXIII (Pts. 1 and 2, 1943), 29-35. See also Baynes's review of books by Ferdinand Lot, Henri Pirenne, and Michael Rostovtzeff in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, XIX (Pt. 2, 1929), 224-35. As late as 1955 he reprinted that review in his book *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955), 309-16, contending "that the unity of the Mediterranean world was broken by the pirate fleet of Vandal Carthage and that the shattered unity was never restored." Archibald R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1100* (Princeton, N. J., 1951), 18-20, contended that the effect of the Vandal attacks was purely temporary.

Long contact with the Romans had resulted in this. When they settled in the Empire, of course, the steady process of Romanization gave further impetus to the use of gold. Payments in terms of gold were common in the writing of Gregory of Tours, and the tomb of Childeric at Tournai revealed that this early Frankish king had hoarded a respectable number of gold coins.¹¹

The first signs of economic recovery appeared during the reign of Anastasius. His coinage was imitated in some quantity in the West. It occurs in the hoard of Bresin in Germany and in a number of Scandinavian hoards. His coinage and imitations of it also form an important segment of the hoards of Gourdon and Chinon, which were actually buried during the reign of Justin I. But the largest increase in number of Byzantine coins and imitations found in the West occurs for the period from Justinian through Heraclius (610-641). P. C. J. A. Boeles lists 208 coins, mostly gold, found in Frisia. Ninety-five of these are clearly imperial gold or imitations, and better than half are of the above-mentioned period.¹² After Heraclius, the Frankish currency seems to have held sway in Frisia. Since many of the early imitations probably come from Italy, it is clear that a route existed in the early years of the sixth century which brought a steady stream of coinage over the Alps northward. This same situation is noted from a survey of the coins in Austrasia. By far the greatest number are from the period from the reign of Anastasius through that of Heraclius.¹³

One naturally associates this rather startling growth in Byzantine interest in the West with the Persian difficulties which became acute during the reign of Anastasius and continued to afflict the Romans until A.D. 639. During that period war between these two peoples was as much the order of the day as peace. Justinian comprehended fully the immense task facing him. His attempt to reconstruct the Roman Empire around the Mediterranean necessitated the adoption of a defensive attitude toward the Persians. The interest of the Emperor had turned toward the western portions of the old Roman Empire, and his conquests must have stimulated the activities of the oriental merchants in that region. These merchants, however, had

¹¹ J. J. Chiflet, *Anastasis Childerici I Francorum regis, sive Thesaurus sepulchralis Tornaci Nerviorum effusus et commentario illustrata* (Anvers, 1655), 252. On finds of Roman coins among the free Germans during the Empire, see Sture Bolin, *Fynden av Romerska mynt i det fria Germanien: Studier i romersk och äldre germansk historia* (Lund, 1926).

¹² P. C. J. A. Boeles, *Friesland tot de elfde Eeuw: Zijn vóór- en vroege Geschiednis* (2d ed., The Hague, 1951), Appendix VIII. In addition to one genuine solidus of Anastasius, nine imitations of his coinage, three of which probably came from Italy, are also known to have been found in Frisia.

¹³ Joachim Werner, *Münzdatierte austrasische Grabfunde* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1935), 107-33. See also Dirk Jellema, "Frisian Trade in the Dark Ages," *Speculum*, XXX (Jan. 1955), 22.

begun to play a more vital role in the economic life of Western Europe as early as the reign of Anastasius and the beginning of the Persian troubles. The rebuilt Byzantine fleet certainly controlled the entire Mediterranean in the period preceding the death of Heraclius, and, as a direct result, trade in the West became safer than it had been at any time since the Vandals reached Carthage.¹⁴ It should be noted that in Procopius' description of the Emperor's actions regarding the two customs houses on the straits on either side of Constantinople, he specifically speaks of merchants traveling between the capital and Italy or Libya.¹⁵ Even the trade of Alexandria, the greatest of all the Mediterranean ports, with Western Europe and particularly with Italy seems to have been more active after the reconquest of the West by the Byzantines. The fact that the communities of merchants in Western Europe were composed primarily of Syrians, Jews, and Greeks, however, must have given Antioch and Constantinople a predominance that Alexandria could not challenge successfully even during the late sixth and early seventh centuries, when trade relations between the patriarch and the pope seem to have reached a peak.¹⁶

It is pointless to repeat all of the evidence collected by Pirenne and others for the existence of very significant sea trade between the two halves of the Mediterranean. The case is very clear cut for a great expansion of that trade during the sixth and seventh centuries after a period of decline during the preceding epoch.¹⁷ It is, however, necessary to return to the subject of the trade route from Italy by land to the Frisian coast. The route actually never seems to have been entirely closed. Miss Joan Fagerlie, a graduate student at a recent seminar of the American Numismatic Society, has shown that it is most likely that the Byzantine gold found in Scandinavia traveled over this same route. Archaeology provides a certain basis for the use of this trade route in pre-Carolingian times. Theodoric's conquest of Italy and his preeminence among the Germanic kings provided a long period of peaceful relations with the more northerly peoples. The concentration of

¹⁴ Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean*, 21 ff.

¹⁵ Procopius, *Anecdota*, XXV, 8 (ed. Haury, III, Pt. 1, 154).

¹⁶ George R. Monks, "The Church of Alexandria and the City's Economic Life in the Sixth Century," *Speculum*, XXVIII (Apr. 1953), 349-62.

¹⁷ Cf. Anne Riising, "The Fate of Henri Pirenne's Theses on the Consequence of the Islamic Expansion," *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XIII (May 1952), 87-130. In this article she states: "An extensive Oriental commerce and a general internal prosperity in the Merovingian age has not been proved and hardly rendered probable . . . it is reasonable to assume that the commerce with the Orient was far too small to be a determining factor in Gallic society, and this means that a great part of Pirenne's thesis has collapsed." The existence of these series of light weight solidi would seem to prove that the Byzantines were vitally interested in the western trade and that it was of sufficient dimensions to warrant the particular interest of the imperial government.

finds of Ostrogothic silver coins and those of the Exarchate of Ravenna in the middle Rhine region seems to be conclusive proof of a continuous use of that trade route during the pre-Carolingian era.¹⁸

The route followed must have been one that crossed the Alps in the neighborhood of Lake Constance. Archaeological evidence gathered by Joachim Werner, based on finds of specific articles such as "Coptic" bronze vessels, ornamental gold crosses, and fibulae of a close-cell type, shows a concentration of these items in the region north of Lake Constance along the headwaters of the Danube. The coins seem to have followed a more westerly route. Within the limits of southern and western Germany nineteen siliquae of Justinian struck in Ravenna and forty Ostrogothic siliquae have been found. The evidence provided by these finds as well as the coins struck in the area suggests that the route in question along the Rhine was of greater importance for the area to the east of the river than for the lands to the west of it. If the number of recovered pieces that may possibly have been issued in southern and western Germany can be used as indicative of the whole, the amount of coinage struck in that area during the sixth century must have been very small. Only a very few coins can be attributed to Rhenish mints, and even these are from sites such as Trier, which are located on the Gallic side of the river. In the seventh century, Frankish mints seem to have been in operation at Windisch, Basel, Strassburg, Speyer, Worms, Alsheim, Mainz, Boppard, Andernach, Bonn, Cologne, Zülpich, Julich (?), Trier, and Pfalzel near Trier, all sites on the left bank of the Rhine. Basel, Strassburg, Mainz, and Trier were the outstanding mints while the others only struck coins intermittently. Only occasionally are coins from these Rhenish mints found on the right bank of the river.

In the sixth century, the mass of currency in southern and western Germany on the right bank of the Rhine must have been composed principally of Italic coinage such as Ostrogothic silver and the later silver currency of Justinian. In addition, Ostrogothic and Byzantine gold, which must have crossed the Alps in the same body of commercial transactions that brought the silver, played a significant role. The coinages of the Rhenish and more distant Gallic mints did not occupy a significant position in the sites on the right bank. It can only be concluded that the commercial ties in this area on the right bank were much stronger with Italy than with the Gallic lands.

If anything, the seventh century shows an even more perceptible dis-

¹⁸ Werner, *Münzdatierte austrasische Grabfunde*, *passim*, is the source for most of what follows regarding the transalpine and Rhenish trade.

inction between the regions to the right and to the left of the Rhine. It is true that since the importation of silver coinage had come to an end, the total number of coins found is much smaller. But the same phenomenon of a commercial connection with Italy rather than the Frankish realm on the left bank is noticeable. The occurrence of Anglo-Saxon sceattas and Frisian trientes in the middle Rhine region, however, marks even further the economic unity of the river valley at the later period. Merovingian coins at the same time are only occasionally found among the Alemanni, Franks, and Thuringians on the right bank and are totally lacking among the Bavarians.

At the extreme continental end of this trade lay Frisia—the area from which the trade about the North Sea radiated.¹⁹ Boeles lists only twenty-six gold coins from Frisia struck before the reign of Anastasius. After that time the expansion in the area's use of gold is easily traced by the great increase in the number of coins of the later period that have been found there. Evidence indicating the importance of the light weight solidi is probably best shown by the fact that of the four coins of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine listed by Boeles three are of the light weight series.

The finds of twenty-seven coins from Cologne, Mainz, Alsheim, and Worms as well as related currencies that have been made within Frisia easily establish the commercial bonds between that area and the Rhenish regions. In addition there are five coins from the mints on the Moselle and ten from those on the Meuse, including imitations. Thus of the 208 coins listed by Boeles, forty-two pieces come from the trade area formed by these river basins. At the same time it should be noted that a few Frisian and Anglo-Saxon sceattas, probably of a later date, are also found in the Rhineland. It is to be expected, however, that the direction of the currency's flow would be northward in this region. Frisia must be considered one of the more primitive western areas in Merovingian times, and it would therefore import rather than export currency.

Frisia was a vital link in the chain of find spots for the light weight solidi, and the finds are more closely concentrated there than anywhere else. Through the region along the right bank of the Rhine and particularly in Frisia, it was customary to loop or pierce gold coins and to use them for ornaments. This practice is present in a significant number of instances among the light weight solidi; perhaps this is connected in some measure with the fact that since the economy of the area was certainly below that

¹⁹ On Frisia, see Boeles, *Friesland tot de elfde Eeuw*, and Jellema, "Frisian Trade in the Dark Ages," 15-36.

established in Gaul proper, the true value of gold as a monetary metal was not as securely established. Using the coins for the manufacture of ornaments involved a change in the value of the coins. The people residing in this area were not as accustomed to the use of gold as those who lived on formerly Roman lands. In Frisia at least thirty-one of the coins listed by Boeles from the reign of Anastasius and later were of poor alloy. A survey of the coinage from the Austrasian graves shows exactly the same phenomenon. The Germanic peoples who inhabited the region were apparently quite unskilled in determining which coins were of poor gold, for many of the pieces were merely plated copper, and in one instance there was even a core of lead.²⁰

The light weight solidi, however, are found at the furthest extremity of this trade route, in England. Of course, commercial connections between England and the Continent were quite strong during this period. A type of fibula that may be distinguished from others is found in England and Frisia as well as near Cologne and Worms. The so-called "Coptic" bronzes extend over the entire route from Italy down the Rhine. Other objects such as a clamped saucer from the lower Rhine are also found in Kent, and Anglo-Saxon type belt plates occur along the Rhine. Pottery, glassware, and cruciform brooches serve to indicate the strength of this trade. The bond between the Continent and Britain actually appears to have been strengthened during the period of the Anglo-Saxon invasions, and a common cultural pattern is easily seen in Frisia and England. Because many authors have sufficiently detailed British contacts with the Continent in the early Middle Ages, it is pointless to repeat the material.

The character of the trade along the Rhine Valley was influenced by the more primitive condition of the peoples on the right bank through whose territory this trade passed. These people used gold and engaged in

²⁰ Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, II, 42 (MGH, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, I, 105), tells us that Clovis bribed the *leudes* of Ragnachar with counterfeit currency of gilded copper (*aereum deauratum*). The fraud was only discovered sometime later after the damage had been done. On another occasion Gregory notes that the Saxons paid many thousand pieces of gold to King Guntram for the privilege of crossing the Rhone. Having crossed the river, they entered Auvergne in the springtime, and there they produced, instead of gold, stamped bars of bronze (*regulas aeris incisas pro auro*). People who saw these bars did not doubt that they were tested and proven gold because of the fine color that had been given to the metal by some clever process. Many persons were tricked by this device, gave their good money for the bronze, and were reduced to poverty. *Ibid.*, IV, 42 (MGH, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, I, 177). Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, I, 2, 4 (ed. Jacob Haury [Leipzig, 1905-13], III, Pt. 2, 17-18), tells us that the bronze equestrian statue of Justinian which stood in the Augusteum at Constantinople was softer in color than pure gold and not much less in value than an equivalent weight of silver. Cf. Theodor Mommsen, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine*, tr. Duc de Blacas (4 vols., Paris, 1865-75), III, 47, note 1, for another interpretation of this passage. The Dortmund hoard is an example of one containing some coins of poor alloy. Kurt L. Regling, *Der Dortmunder Fund römischer Goldmünzen* (Dortmund, 1908), 20.

monetary transactions, but coins were utilized as ornaments to a greater degree here than elsewhere. Finds of Ostrogothic and Byzantine silver coins show that the inhabitants retained the use of silver currency in an active sense while it was lost throughout most of the Roman world. Their knowledge of gold as a currency medium was limited; a great many pieces of poor quality, plated or heavily alloyed, were in circulation.

Into this trade the Byzantine light weight solidi were introduced. Originally they seem to have been struck in Constantinople and sent to Italy from whence they passed over the Alps and down the Rhine. This move was part of the Byzantine design to increase profits from the western trade. Because of the Persian difficulties beginning in the early sixth century, an increasing number of the traders of Constantinople turned westward.²¹ One can see a marked growth in the activities of the oriental traders in the West as early as the reign of Anastasius. The colonies of eastern merchants, who were resident in Western Europe and who jealously preserved their identity after the settlement of the Germanic barbarians, made this expansion easier in the more Romanized parts of Europe. During Justinian's reign this activity increased even more sharply, since it was aided and abetted by the victories of Byzantine arms. Negotiations with the Himyarites to the south of the Persian Empire and the Turkic peoples to the north during the reign of Justinian could not have compensated for the severe setback received by the eastern trade of the Byzantines as a result of the Persian wars.²² The importance of trade as a factor in Justinian's defensive wars against the Sassanians can be noted by simply reading Procopius' account of the events. Under these stresses the imperial government sought to cultivate trade in the West through all available channels. Procopius, who served in Italy on the staff of Belisarius, as a direct result of his connections with the military men, must have been aware of what was transpiring there even after he left. Therefore it is in his writings that the striking of light weight solidi is mentioned.

During the reign of Justin II, Antioch and its environs included at least one source of these light weight solidi; the Syrian hoard shows conclusively that the mint of Antioch issued this type of coin. These new light weight

²¹ Procopius, *Anecdota*, XXV, 13-26 (ed. Haury, III, Pt. 1, 155-57), and Robert S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum*, XX (Jan. 1945), 16. Cf. Knud Hannestad, "Les relations de Byzance avec la Transcaucasie et l'Asie Centrale aux 5^e et 6^e siècles," *Byzantion*, XXV-XXVII (No. 2, 1955-57), 446.

²² Cf. John B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian* (A.D. 395 to A.D. 565) (2 vols., London, 1911), II, 330 ff. and Alexander A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, tr. Mrs. S. Ragozin (2 vols., Madison, Wis., 1928-29), I, 199-200. See also Hannestad, "Les relations de Byzance," 421-56.

solidi were apparently used in the extensive trade with the cities of southern France. The evidence that light weight gold was introduced into the main body of western trade along the valley of the Rhone in the reign of Justin II is well attested. It is quite true that there have been no finds of authentic Byzantine light weight solidi made within the area of Gaul about the Rhone, but a series of so-called pseudoimperial gold coins of western manufacture which utilized approximately the same weight standard is known.²³ These new coins bore marks of value indicating that they were clearly derived from the authentic Byzantine light weight series in so far as the weight standard was concerned. The solidi were worth twenty-one siliquae and the trientes seven. That, of course, is the most essential feature of the relationship between these new Gallic pieces and the light weight Byzantine solidi.

Other aspects of the history of the pseudoimperial coins point to the same close relationship with the Byzantine solidi. They reflect the same tendency to move northward that was so noticeable in the case of the Byzantine solidi from the Rhine region. The north was less highly developed than the south. A goodly number of the hundred or so specimens of the pseudoimperial coins have been found in Britain and other northern areas. Thus some have been recovered in the hoard from Saare, in Kent near Reculver, and in the hoard from Nietap. They also occurred in the Sutton-Hoo ship burial, in the Wieuwerd hoard, and in the Bilgaard and Hichtum terps in Frisia. This would seem to be another instance of the attraction of the more Germanic, and consequently less highly developed areas, for light weight gold currency.

Pseudoimperial gold was issued regularly at Marseilles, Arles, Uzès, and Viviers and intermittently at Venasque, Die, Valence, Vienne, and possibly Gap. All of these cities, of course, are located in the Rhone Valley, a major artery of trade from the Mediterranean littoral into the interior. From the seaports along the coast, goods were moved up the Rhone into the heart of Gaul; the network of other rivers throughout the country afforded relatively easy communications with the rest of the land.

It seems most likely that this pseudoimperial currency of Gaul was first issued during the last years of the reign of Justin II. S. E. Rigold suggests that it was begun about the year A.D. 574. The great period for the striking of these Gallic coins was in the reign of Maurice Tiberius. By 616, however, the last traces of the independence of the cities in southern Gaul had been

²³ A definitive study of these pseudoimperial gold coins has appeared: S. E. Rigold, "An Imperial Coinage in Southern Gaul in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 6, XIV (London, 1954), 93-133.

eradicated, and the pseudoimperial series was replaced by one of royal origin which bore the royal effigy but emanated from the same area.

Historically, the series of pseudoimperial coins reflects the political influence of the Byzantines in the cities of the Rhone Valley. The relationship between the various Frankish rulers such as Sigibert, Childebert, and Chilperic and the Byzantine emperors was never as close as during the years from about 584 to 594. Subsidy payments for Frankish aid against the Lombards were regularly made, and as late as A.D. 601, when Callinicus, the third Exarch of Ravenna, renewed the struggle against the Lombards, contacts with the Franks were necessary. By 606, however, a truce with the Lombards marked the end of the Byzantines' effort to carry on offensive action against the Germanic barbarians. The decline of Byzantine influence was a concomitant of the enlargement of the realm of Chlotar II, who succeeded Chilperic as an independent sovereign in Neustria. In 613 Chlotar had seized all of Gaul as his own, and it was not long before he imposed his savage rule in the Rhone Valley as surely as elsewhere in Gaul. Thus there is a connection in time between the decline of the Byzantine rulers' efforts against the Lombards, the striking of the pseudoimperial series in southern Gaul, and the rise of Chlotar II's realm.

It can be said without fear of dispute that the Roman experiment with the use of light weight gold currency was a complete success in the field of external trade. For a considerable period of time the secondary trade artery along which most of these coins are found remained somewhat backward as compared with the more Romanized sections of Europe. Its attraction of the pseudoimperial pieces is indicative of this backwardness. This, however, is only a subsidiary aspect. Gold coinage of lighter weight made it possible to use less of the precious metal which the Byzantines treasured so closely to carry on their western trade. The adoption of the triens as the common gold piece rather than the much more precious solidus demonstrates the tendency in early medieval Western Europe toward the use of lighter and smaller gold coins. Economic decline gave gold coins a much greater purchasing power, and as a result the lighter coins could perform the economic functions that had required full weight solidi during earlier periods. Even after the peoples of the West fully recognized the change that the Byzantines had introduced into the gold coinage used in external trade, these advantages remained. It must not be forgotten that the lighter weight gold standard was quickly adopted by the cities of the southern Gallic region, and from there it spread throughout the Frankish realm and the rest of the European successor states. As long as the Byzantines had an

active interest in the western trade, the adoption of this lighter standard made it possible for them to use a smaller amount of gold for their transactions. At the same time it brought the gold coinage that they were using in this trade into direct alignment with the prevailing trend of monetary policy among the peoples of the West, including the Franks, Suevi, and Visigoths, who adopted the lighter standard.

The coinage of pseudoimperial gold in southern Gaul ceased during the reign of Heraclius, and at the same time the influence of the imperial government in Gaul declined sharply. It was precisely at this instant that the pressure of the Persians reached its zenith. Coinage of light weight solidi at Antioch had come to an end before the reign of Phocas. During Heraclius' reign Antioch was actually seized for a short time by the Persians; Damascus, Jerusalem, and even Egypt were temporarily held by them. Coevally the Avars launched an assault against Constantinople, and Heraclius pondered the wisdom of flight to Africa. Fortunately the Avar attacks were a purely temporary phenomenon, and trade in the Balkans was not seriously hampered. The hoards and finds from the Balkans show that the Byzantine emphasis on trade there continued through the reign of Constantine IV Pogonatus. Trade with the East, however, must have been seriously affected by the Persian wars that punctuated the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius during the first quarter of the seventh century. The Byzantine victory at the Battle of Nineveh, which was followed by the death of Chosroes and a series of dynastic convulsions within Persia, exhausted the Persians and made it possible for the Byzantines to conclude a very favorable peace.

During the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius, as the Frankish realm was expanding under Chlotar II and Byzantine influence waned in Gaul, the number of light weight solidi issued by the Byzantine government appears to have increased. The subsidiary trade route along the Rhine was probably used to a greater degree than in the reigns just preceding that of Phocas. Certainly the majority of Byzantine coins found in the sites along this route were struck in the reign of Heraclius. Thus it seems obvious that while Byzantine influence in southern Gaul was paramount there was no need to exert great efforts along this subsidiary route, but when the Frankish kings had complete control and the Persian difficulties were pressing, the imperial government attempted to extend its activities along the Rhine.

It is possible that the forces necessitating increased Byzantine activity in the West along a subsidiary route also created the need for an expansion of trade in southern Russia. Certainly the reigns of Constans II and Constantine IV Pogonatus witnessed the use of these coins in the Ukraine, as is

shown by the hoards. The movements of the Bulgars were probably the factor that terminated Byzantine efforts to use light weight solidi in southern Russia. A new power in the form of the Khazar state was being erected in southern Russia, and the Byzantines dealt with the Khazars on different terms.

The Pirenne thesis laid stress upon an extensive oriental commerce in the Merovingian age. This picture of intense Mediterranean trade has been questioned.²⁴ A careful examination of the light weight solidi has shown that not only is there excellent evidence that this trade was important enough to merit consideration and action by the imperial government, but that its nature was quite different from what Pirenne and later scholars have envisioned. Virtually all historians agree that the Germanic invasions did not mark a turning point in the economic history of Europe though they may well have accelerated the decline and disintegration of the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, as soon as the first waves of these invaders had settled down in the new successor states, the Byzantine merchants revived western trade. A large portion of the evidence cited to support the persistence of the Roman pattern of Mediterranean trade after the *Völkerwanderung* actually reflects this revival of commerce in the sixth and seventh centuries after the decline in the fifth.²⁵ The causal nexus for this commercial renaissance is to be found in the increasing Persian pressures along the eastern frontier which began in the reign of Anastasius and continued through that of Heraclius. The Persian difficulties, which we know affected the eastern silk trade, were coeval with the growth of western commerce. Expansion of trade with Western Europe was possible because there were colonies of oriental merchants in Gaul and Italy who jealously guarded and preserved their identity apart from the common populace and maintained their connections with the Byzantine Empire. It is even probable that the number of such oriental merchants in the West increased with the relative growth of their prosperity as the native mercantile class was eliminated. The rise of these communities in the late fifth and early sixth centuries and their disappearance after the reign of Chlotar II in the early seventh century when the independence of the cities of southern Gaul was extinguished are obviously connected with the expansion of Mediterranean trade. In Gaul the resident oriental merchants were responsible for the largest part of the overseas trade.

²⁴ See footnote seventeen.

²⁵ None of the discussions surrounding the effects of the Germanic invasions have taken particular note of the economic decline of the fifth century and the remarkable recovery in the sixth and seventh centuries. H. St. L. B. Moss, "The Economic Consequences of the Barbarian Invasions," *Economic History Review*, VII (May 1937), 209-16, reviews most of the important work done on this problem.

If we shift our view momentarily from the question of the quantity of the trade to its character, we must also revise Pirenne's thesis. Pirenne laid great stress upon Byzantine exports to the West and upon the supposed four great disappearances: papyrus, spice, gold, and textiles. Robert Lopez has shown that the connection between changes in the trade in these articles and the advance of Islam is not quite as close as Pirenne had proposed.²⁶ In addition, though the evidence is by no means definitive, it would seem that the Byzantines had an unfavorable balance of trade with Western Europe during the very early Middle Ages.²⁷ This phenomenon of a net loss of precious gold coinage from the Roman Empire to the underdeveloped lands surrounding it can easily be demonstrated in much earlier times with respect to the free Germans.²⁸ Western Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries was at a low economic and cultural level, without the taste and desire for exotic and refined luxury items and products of industry in great quantities, but with an excess of raw materials available for export. Perhaps the most valuable of these exports from the West was human—slaves. Evidence of slave trading in Western Europe is quite extensive, and more important still is the fact that their movement was from the northern frontier districts to the seaports on the Mediterranean for transshipment overseas. The slaves themselves were recruited from all Central and Western European races, primarily as a result of the persistent warfare of that period. Charles Verlinden has collected all the evidence relating to slavery in the Frankish state.²⁹ It seems clear that after the reign of Dagobert, who was a contemporary of Heraclius, the sources of the slave trade diminished appreciably. Dagobert was the last of the Merovingian rulers who displayed any energy along the frontiers of his kingdom to increase its size. Without successful campaigns against other peoples of the West, the sole sources of new slaves were the natural increase of those already enslaved or the additional few who might suffer reduction to servitude for offenses against the law or who might sell themselves. Thus, as Verlinden points out, the slave trade must have declined sharply before the mid-seventh century. If the price

²⁶ Robert S. Lopez, "Mohammed and Charlemagne: A Revision," *Speculum*, XVIII (Jan. 1943), 14-38.

²⁷ This suggestion was made by Robert S. Lopez, "East and West in the Early Middle Ages: Economic Relations," *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (6 vols., Florence, 1955), III, 129-37. Cf. Steven Runciman, "Byzantine Trade and Industry," *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. H. Clapham and Eileen Power (2 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1941-52), II, 86-118, for a diametrically opposed view.

²⁸ See Bolin, *Fynden av Romerska mynt, passim*, and Arnold Luschn von Ebengreuth, "Der Denar der Lex Salica," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, CLXIII (Vienna, 1910), Abh. 4, 8-9.

²⁹ Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale* (Bruges, 1955), I, 639-702.

for individual slaves was as high as twelve or fifteen solidi and the trade was very brisk, both of which seem likely from a study of the texts, this would account fully for the vast quantities of Byzantine gold found in the West prior to A.D. 650 and its virtually complete absence in the following years.

There is one further factor to be taken into account. The effects of the Islamic conquests on the Byzantine Empire were not treated by Pirenne as causative factors save for the exclusion of the Byzantine fleets from the western Mediterranean. In effect, this is to deny any importance to the economic history of Byzantium as an element in the story. Quite the reverse, however, appears to be the case. The Moslem conquests and migrations had cut the Byzantines off from the supplies of gold ore, and only by the most rigid controls was Byzantine currency maintained after the mid-seventh century.³⁰ Byzantine trade had to readjust itself to the new conditions, which required that trading in the West be favorably balanced. Steps in this direction must have been taken as early as the last years of Heraclius. Thus by A.D. 650, over fifty years before the completion of the Moslem conquest of the Mediterranean, events in Gaul and a changed Byzantine trade policy resulting from the loss of direct contact with the sources of gold had effected the sharp reduction in trade that Pirenne attributed to the closing of the western Mediterranean by Moslem pirates. There can be no doubt that the concerted effort at building up the trade of Byzantium with the West, which began in the closing years of the fifth century and which is reflected in the issuance of the light weight solidi, was over by the reign of Constantine IV Pogonatus. It was indeed declining sharply as early as Heraclius' reign. Of course it did not cease abruptly and completely, and some articles necessary for maintaining the prestige of the chancelleries of the western monarchs or the Church continued to be imported, but the fact that Byzantine hoards and coins no longer occur with any frequency cannot be denied.³¹ Byzantine policy, as has been recognized by all Byzantine historians, was different in the eighth and ninth centuries from what it had been in the period from Justinian through Constantine IV Pogonatus.

³⁰ Runciman, "Byzantine Trade and Industry," 91-92.

³¹ Lopez, "Mohammed and Charlemagne," 14-38.

New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics

RICHARD P. McCORMICK*

THE historical phenomenon that we have come to call Jacksonian democracy has long engaged the attention of American political historians, and never more insistently than in the past decade. From the time of Parton and Bancroft to the present day scholars have recognized that a profoundly significant change took place in the climate of politics simultaneously with the appearance of Andrew Jackson on the presidential scene. They have sensed that a full understanding of the nature of that change might enable them to dissolve some of the mysteries that envelop the operation of the American democratic process. With such a challenging goal before them, they have pursued their investigations with uncommon intensity and with a keen awareness of the contemporary relevance of their findings.

A cursory view of the vast body of historical writing on this subject suggests that scholars in the field have been largely preoccupied with attempts to define the content of Jacksonian democracy and identify the influences that shaped it.¹ What did Jacksonian democracy represent, and what groups, classes, or sections gave it its distinctive character? The answers that have been given to these central questions have been—to put it succinctly—bewildering in their variety. The discriminating student, seeking the essential core of Jacksonianism, may make a choice among urban workingmen, southern planters, venturous conservatives, farm-bred *nouveaux riches*, western frontiersmen, frustrated entrepreneurs, or yeoman farmers. Various as are these interpretations of the motivating elements that constituted the true Jacksonians, the characterizations of the programmatic features of Jacksonian democracy are correspondingly diverse. Probably the reasonable observer will content himself with the conclusion that many influences were at work and that latitudinarianism prevailed among the Jacksonian faithful.

In contrast with the controversy that persists over these aspects of Jack-

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¹ For a concise survey of the literature on the topic, see Charles G. Sellers, Jr., *Jacksonian Democracy* (Washington, D. C., 1958) or his "Andrew Jackson versus the Historians," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (Mar. 1958), 615-34. For the most recent treatment of the period, see Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The Jacksonian Era, 1828-1848*, The New American Nation Series, ed. Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris (New York, 1959).

sonian democracy, there has been little dissent from the judgment that "the 1830's saw the triumph in American politics of that democracy which has remained pre-eminently the distinguishing feature of our society."² The consensus would seem to be that with the emergence of Jackson, the political pulse of the nation quickened. The electorate, long dormant or excluded from the polls by suffrage barriers, now became fired with unprecedented political excitement. The result was a bursting forth of democratic energies, evidenced by a marked upward surge in voting.³ Beard in his colorful fashion gave expression to the common viewpoint when he asserted that "the roaring flood of the new democracy was... [by 1824] foaming perilously near the crest..."⁴ Schlesinger, with his allusion to the "immense popular vote"⁵ received by Jackson in 1824, creates a similar image. The Old Hero's victory in 1828 has been hailed as the consequence of a "mighty democratic uprising."⁶

That a "new democracy, ignorant, impulsive, irrational"⁷ entered the arena of politics in the Jackson era has become one of the few unchallenged "facts" in an otherwise controversial field. Differences of opinion occur only when attempts are made to account for the remarkable increase in the size of the active electorate. The commonest explanations have emphasized the assertion by the common man of his newly won political privileges, the democratic influences that arose out of the western frontier, or the magnetic attractiveness of Jackson as a candidate capable of appealing with singular effectiveness to the backwoods hunter, the plain farmer, the urban workingman, and the southern planter.

Probably because the image of a "mighty democratic uprising" has been so universally agreed upon, there has been virtually no effort made to describe precisely the dimensions of the "uprising." Inquiry into this aspect of Jacksonian democracy has been discouraged by a common misconception

² Sellers, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 1.

³ For representative examples of this viewpoint, see Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (new ed., 2 vols. in 1, New York, 1933), 540, 546, 550; Wilfred E. Binkley, *American Political Parties: Their Natural History* (New York, 1943), 101, 108, 111, 115, 121; John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union* (2d ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 351, 363-64; William MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy, 1829-1837* (New York, 1906), 3, 42, 311; Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* (Vintage ed., New York, 1954), 50-52; John Bach Masters, *A History of the People of the United States* (8 vols., New York, 1883-1913), V, 518; Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford, Calif., 1957), 4, 11; E. E. Robinson, *The Evolution of American Political Parties* (New York, 1924), 101; E. H. Roseboom, *A History of Presidential Elections* (New York, 1957), 91; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1947), 12-15, 36.

⁴ Beard, *American Civilization*, 550.

⁵ Schlesinger, *Age of Jackson*, 36.

⁶ Frederick A. Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson* (New Haven, Conn., 1919), 114.

⁷ Roseboom, *Presidential Elections*, 91.

regarding voter behavior before 1824. As the authors of one of our most recent and best textbooks put it: "In the years from the beginning of the government to 1824, a period for which we have no reliable election statistics, only small numbers of citizens seemed to have bothered to go to the polls."⁸ Actually, abundant data on pre-1824 elections is available, and it indicates a far higher rate of voting than has been realized. Only by taking this data into consideration can voting behavior after 1824 be placed in proper perspective.

The question of whether there was indeed a "mighty democratic uprising" during the Jackson era is certainly crucial in any analysis of the political character of Jacksonian democracy. More broadly, however, we need to know the degree to which potential voters participated in elections before, during, and after the period of Jackson's presidency as well as the conditions that apparently influenced the rate of voting. Only when such factors have been analyzed can we arrive at firm conclusions with respect to the dimensions of the political changes that we associate with Jacksonian democracy. Obviously in studying voter participation we are dealing with but one aspect of a large problem, and the limitations imposed by such a restrictive focus should be apparent.

In measuring the magnitude of the vote in the Jackson elections it is hardly significant to use the total popular vote cast throughout the nation. A comparison of the total vote cast in 1812, for example, when in eight of the seventeen states electors were chosen by the legislature, with the vote in 1832, when every state except South Carolina chose its electors by popular vote, has limited meaning. Neither is it revealing to compare the total vote in 1824 with that in 1832 without taking into consideration the population increase during the interval. The shift from the legislative choice of electors to their election by popular vote, together with the steady population growth, obviously swelled the presidential vote. But the problem to be investigated is whether the Jackson elections brought voters to the polls in such enlarged or unprecedented proportions as to indicate that a "new democracy" had burst upon the political scene.

The most practicable method for measuring the degree to which voters participated in elections over a period of time is to relate the number of votes cast to the number of potential voters. Although there is no way of calculating precisely how many eligible voters there were in any state at a given time, the evidence at hand demonstrates that with the exception of Rhode

⁸ Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, *The American Republic* (2 vols., New York, 1959), I, 391.

Island, Virginia, and Louisiana the potential electorate after 1824 was roughly equivalent to the adult white male population.⁹ A meaningful way of expressing the rate of voter participation, then, is to state it in terms of the percentage of the adult white males actually voting. This index can be employed to measure the variations that occurred in voter participation over a period of time and in both national and state elections. Consequently a basis is provided for comparing the rate of voting in the Jackson elections with other presidential elections before and after his regime as well as with state elections.¹⁰

Using this approach it is possible, first of all, to ascertain whether or not voter participation rose markedly in the three presidential elections in which Jackson was a candidate. Did voter participation in these elections so far exceed the peak participation in the pre-1824 elections as to suggest that a mighty democratic uprising was taking place? The accompanying data (Table I) provides an answer to this basic question.¹¹

In the 1824 election not a single one of the eighteen states in which the electors were chosen by popular vote attained the percentage of voter participation that had been reached before 1824. Prior to that critical election,

⁹ The only states in which property qualifications were a factor in restricting voting in presidential elections after 1824 were Virginia and Rhode Island. New York did not completely abolish property qualifications until 1826, but the reform of 1821 had resulted in virtually free suffrage. In Louisiana, where voters were required to be taxpayers, the nature of the system of taxation operated to confine the suffrage to perhaps half of the adult white males. See Joseph G. Tregle, "Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Study in Ego Politics," doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1954, 105-108. To be perfectly accurate, estimates of the size of the potential electorate would have to take into account such factors as citizenship and residence requirements and, in certain states, the eligibility of Negro voters.

¹⁰ After 1840 when the proportion of aliens in the population increased markedly and citizenship became an important requirement for voting, the adult-white-male index becomes less reliable. In order to calculate accurately the number of qualified voters in 1850, the alien adult white males would have to be deducted in those states where citizenship was a qualification for voting. Unfortunately, federal census data on aliens is not obtainable prior to 1890, except for the censuses of 1820 and 1830. In the latter year there were only 107,832 aliens out of a total population of nearly thirteen millions, a fraction so small as to be insignificant. But by 1850, according to one calculation, adult male aliens may have amounted to one-twelfth of the total voting population. J. D. B. De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1854), 50. In certain eastern states the proportion of aliens was higher than the national average. In New York, for example, 18.5 per cent of the total population in 1855 were aliens; the proportion in 1835 had been only 3.79 per cent. Franklin B. Hough, *Census of the State of New York for 1855* (Albany, 1857), xiv, xliii.

¹¹ The figures on voter participation have been computed from a compilation I have made of returns of state-wide elections covering twenty-five states over the period from 1800 to 1860. For the post-1836 years the returns may be consulted in the *Whig Almanacs* and *Tribune Almanacs* issued by Horace Greeley and, for presidential elections, in W. Dean Burnham's *Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892* (Baltimore, Md., 1955). For the period prior to 1836 the best general sources are the official manuals of certain states, the legislative journals, and the contemporary newspapers. For several states, among them Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, it is necessary to use the manuscript sources. The estimate of the adult white male population was computed for each decennial year from the federal census, and the figure for the particular election year was obtained by interpolation.

TABLE I
Percentages of Adult White Males Voting in Elections

State	Year	Highest Known % AWM Voting before 1824	Presidential Elections					
		% AWM	1824	1828	1832	1836	1840	1844
Maine	1812*	62.0	18.9	42.7	66.2*	37.4	82.2	67.5
New Hampshire	1814*	80.8	16.8	76.5	74.2	38.2	86.4*	65.6
Vermont	1812*	79.9	—	55.8	50.0	52.5	74.0	65.7
Massachusetts	1812*	67.4	29.1	25.7	39.3	45.1	66.4	59.3
Rhode Island	1812*	49.4	12.4	18.0	22.4	24.1	33.2	39.8
Connecticut	1819 ¹	54.4	14.9	27.1	45.9	52.3	75.7*	76.1
New York	1810*	41.5	—	70.4*	72.1	60.2	77.7	73.6
New Jersey	1808 ^p	71.8	31.1	70.9	69.0	69.3	80.4*	81.6
Pennsylvania	1808*	71.5	19.6	56.6	52.7	53.1	77.4*	75.5
Delaware	1804*	81.9	—	—	67.0	69.4	82.8*	85.0
Maryland	1820 ¹	69.0	53.7	76.2*	55.6	67.5	84.6	80.3
Virginia	1800 ^p	25.9	11.5	27.6*	30.8	35.1	54.6	54.5
North Carolina	1823 ^c	70.0 [#]	42.2	56.8	31.7	52.9	83.1*	79.1
Georgia	1812 ^c	62.3	—	35.9	33.0	64.9*	88.9	94.0
Kentucky	1820*	74.4	25.3	70.7	73.9	61.1	74.3	80.3*
Tennessee	1817*	80.0	26.8	49.8	28.8	55.2	89.6*	89.6
Louisiana	1812*	34.2	—	36.3*	24.4	19.2	39.4	44.7
Alabama	1819*	96.7	52.1	53.6	33.3	65.0	89.8	82.7
Mississippi	1823*	79.8	41.6	56.6	32.8	62.8	88.2*	89.7
Ohio	1822*	46.5	34.8	75.8*	73.8	75.5	84.5	83.6
Indiana	1822*	52.4	37.5	68.3*	61.8	70.1	86.0	84.9
Illinois	1822*	55.8	24.2	51.9	45.6	43.7	85.9*	76.3
Missouri	1820*	71.9	20.1	54.3	40.8	35.6	74.0*	74.7
Arkansas	—	—	—	—	—	35.0	86.4	68.8
Michigan	—	—	—	—	—	35.7	84.9	79.3
National Average			26.5	56.3	54.9	55.2	78.0	74.9

* Exceeded pre-1824 high
g Gubernatorial election
p Presidential election

Estimate based on incomplete returns
c Congressional election
l Election of legislature

fifteen of those eighteen states had recorded votes in excess of 50 per cent of their adult white male population, but in 1824 only two states—Maryland and Alabama—exceeded this modest mark. The average rate of voter par-

I have computed for each gubernatorial and presidential election in the twenty-five states admitted to the Union by 1836 (exclusive of South Carolina) the percentage of adult white males voting.

ticipation in the election was 26.5 per cent. This hardly fits the image of the "roaring flood of the new democracy . . . foaming perilously near the crest. . . ."

There would seem to be persuasive evidence that in 1828 the common man flocked to the polls in unprecedented numbers, for the proportion of adult white males voting soared to 56.3 per cent, more than double the 1824 figure. But this outpouring shrinks in magnitude when we observe that in only six of the twenty-two states involved were new highs in voter participation established. In three of these—Maryland, Virginia, and Louisiana—the recorded gain was inconsiderable, and in a fourth—New York—the bulk of the increase might be attributed to changes that had been made in suffrage qualifications as recently as 1821 and 1826. Six states went over the 70 per cent mark, whereas ten had bettered that performance before 1824. Instead of a "mighty democratic uprising" there was in 1828 a voter turnout that approached—but in only a few instances matched or exceeded—the maximum levels that had been attained before the Jackson era.

The advance that was registered in 1828 did not carry forward to 1832. Despite the fact that Jackson was probably at the peak of his personal popularity, that he was engaged in a campaign that was presumably to decide issues of great magnitude, and that in the opinion of some authorities a "well-developed two party system on a national scale" had been established,¹² there was a slight decline in voter participation. The average for the twenty-three states participating in the presidential contest was 54.9 per cent. In fifteen states a smaller percentage of the adult white males went to the polls in 1832 than in 1828. Only five states bettered their pre-1824 highs. Again the conclusion would be that it was essentially the pre-1824 electorate—diminished in most states and augmented in a few—that voted in 1832. Thus, after three Jackson elections, sixteen states had not achieved the proportions of voter participation that they had reached before 1824. The "new democracy" had not yet made its appearance.¹³

¹² Charles G. Sellers, Jr., *James K. Polk: Jacksonian, 1795-1843* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), 166. See also Meyers, *Jacksonian Persuasion*, 11.

¹³ It may be suggested that it is invalid to compare voter participation in each state in the presidential contests of 1824, 1828, and 1832 with the highs, rather than the average participation in each state prior to 1824. The object of the comparison is to ascertain whether the Jackson elections brought voters to the polls in unprecedented numbers, as has so often been asserted. Moreover, it is hardly feasible to compare average participation in elections before and after 1824 in many states because of the changes that were made in the methods of electing governors and presidential electors or—in certain instances—because the state had only recently entered the Union. However, among those states in which average voter participation was obviously higher before 1824 than it was in the three Jackson elections were Alabama, Connecticut, Georgia, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire (1809-1817), Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Vermont (1807-1815).

A comparison of the Jackson elections with earlier presidential contests is of some interest. Such comparisons have little validity before 1808 because few states chose electors by popular vote, and for certain of those states the complete returns are not available. In 1816 and 1820 there was so little opposition to Monroe that the voter interest was negligible. The most relevant elections, therefore, are those of 1808 and 1812. The accompanying table (Table II) gives the percentages of adult white males voting in 1808 and 1812 in those states for which full returns could be found, together with the comparable percentages for the elections of 1824 and 1828. In 1824 only one state—Ohio—surpassed the highs established in either 1808 or 1812. Four more joined this list in 1828—Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire—although the margin in the last case was so small as to be inconsequential. The most significant conclusion to be drawn from this admittedly limited and unrepresentative data is that in those states where there was a vigorous two-party contest in 1808 and 1812 the vote was relatively high. Conversely, where there was little or no contest in 1824 or 1828, the vote was low.

TABLE II
Percentages of Adult White Males Voting in Presidential Elections

State	1808	1812	1824	1828
Maine	Legis.	50.0	18.9	42.7
New Hampshire	62.1	75.4	16.8	76.5
Massachusetts	Legis.	51.4	29.1	25.7
Rhode Island	37.4	37.7	12.4	18.0
New Jersey	71.8	Legis.	31.1	70.9
Pennsylvania	34.7	45.5	19.6	56.6
Maryland	48.4	56.5	53.7	76.2
Virginia	17.7	17.8	11.5	27.6
Ohio	12.8	20.0	34.8	75.8

Note: No complete returns of the popular vote cast for electors in Kentucky or Tennessee in 1808 and 1812 and in North Carolina in 1808 could be located.

When an examination is made of voting in other than presidential elections prior to 1824, the inaccuracy of the impression that "only small numbers of citizens" went to the polls becomes apparent. Because of the almost automatic succession of the members of the "Virginia dynasty" and the early deterioration of the national two-party system that had seemed to be developing around 1800, presidential elections did not arouse voter interest as much

as did those for governor, state legislators, or even members of Congress. In such elections at the state level the "common man" was stimulated by local factors to cast his vote, and he frequently responded in higher proportions than he did to the later stimulus provided by Jackson.

The average voter participation for all the states in 1828 was 56.3 per cent. Before 1824 fifteen of the twenty-two states had surpassed that percentage. Among other things, this means that the 1828 election failed to bring to the polls the proportion of the electorate that had voted on occasion in previous elections. There was, in other words, a high potential vote that was frequently realized in state elections but which did not materialize in presidential elections. The unsupported assumption that the common man was either apathetic or debarred from voting by suffrage barriers before 1824 is untenable in the light of this evidence.

In state after state (see Table I) gubernatorial elections attracted 70 per cent or more of the adult white males to the polls. Among the notable highs recorded were Delaware with 81.9 per cent in 1804, New Hampshire with 80.8 per cent in 1814, Tennessee with 80.0 per cent in 1817, Vermont with 79.9 per cent in 1812, Mississippi with 79.8 per cent in 1823, and Alabama with a highly improbable 96.7 per cent in its first gubernatorial contest in 1819. There is reason to believe that in some states, at least, the voter participation in the election of state legislators was even higher than in gubernatorial elections. Because of the virtual impossibility of securing county-by-county or district-by-district returns for such elections, this hypothesis is difficult to verify.

Down to this point the voter turnout in the Jackson elections has been compared with that in elections held prior to 1824. Now it becomes appropriate to inquire whether during the period 1824 through 1832 voters turned out in greater proportions for the three presidential contests than they did for the contemporary state elections. If, indeed, this "new democracy" bore some special relationship to Andrew Jackson or to his policies, it might be anticipated that interest in the elections in which he was the central figure would stimulate greater voter participation than gubernatorial contests, in which he was at most a remote factor.

Actually, the election returns show fairly conclusively that throughout the eight-year period the electorate continued to participate more extensively in state elections than in those involving the presidency. Between 1824 and 1832 there were fifty regular gubernatorial elections in the states that chose their electors by popular vote. In only sixteen of these fifty instances did the vote for President surpass the corresponding vote for governor. In Rhode

Island, Delaware, Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Mississippi, Missouri, and Georgia the vote for governor consistently exceeded that for President. Only in Connecticut was the reverse true.¹⁴ Viewed from this perspective, too, the remarkable feature of the vote in the Jackson elections is not its immensity but rather its smallness.

Finally, the Jackson elections may be compared with subsequent presidential elections. Once Jackson had retired to the Hermitage, and figures of less dramatic proportions took up the contest for the presidency, did voter participation rise or fall? This question can be answered by observing the percentage of adult white males who voted in each state in the presidential elections of 1836 through 1844 (Table I). Voter participation in the 1836 election remained near the level that had been established in 1828 and 1832, with 55.2 per cent of the adult white males voting. Only five states registered percentages in excess of their pre-1824 highs. But in 1840 the "new democracy" made its appearance with explosive suddenness.

In a surge to the polls that has rarely, if ever, been exceeded in any presidential election, four out of five (78.0 per cent) of the adult white males cast their votes for Harrison or Van Buren.¹⁵ This new electorate was greater than that of the Jackson period by more than 40 per cent. In all but five states—Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Kentucky, and Alabama—the peaks of voter participation reached before 1824 were passed. Fourteen of the twenty-five states involved set record highs for voting that were not to be broken throughout the remainder of the ante bellum period. Now, at last, the common man—or at least the man who previously had not been sufficiently aroused to vote in presidential elections—cast his weight into the political balance. This "Tippecanoe democracy," if such a label is permissible, was of a different order of magnitude from the Jacksonian democracy. The elections in which Jackson figured brought to the polls only those men who were accustomed to voting in state or national elections, except in a very few states. The Tippecanoe canvass witnessed an extraordinary expansion of the size of the presidential electorate far beyond previous dimensions. It was in 1840, then, that the "roaring flood of the new democracy" reached its crest. And it engulfed the Jacksonians.

¹⁴ These summary statements are based upon an analysis of the compilation referred to in footnote eleven.

¹⁵ It can be calculated that the total of adult white males in the twenty-five states was 3,090,708. The total popular vote was 2,409,682. In the presidential election of 1896 the total vote approximated 80 per cent of the potential electorate. In 1940 and 1952 the comparable figures would be 63 per cent and 65 per cent respectively. These percentages have been calculated on the assumption that the potential electorate in 1896 included all adult male citizens and in 1940 and 1952 all adult citizens.

The flood receded only slightly in 1844, when 74.9 per cent of the estimated potential electorate went to the polls. Indeed, nine states attained their record highs for the period. In 1848 and 1852 there was a general downward trend in voter participation, followed by a modest upswing in 1856 and 1860. But the level of voter activity remained well above that of the Jackson elections. The conclusion to be drawn is that the "mighty democratic uprising" came after the period of Jackson's presidency.

Now that the quantitative dimensions of Jacksonian democracy as a political phenomenon have been delineated and brought into some appropriate perspective, certain questions still remain to be answered. Granted that the Jacksonian electorate—as revealed by the comparisons that have been set forth—was not really very large, how account for the fact that voter participation doubled between the elections of 1824 and 1828? It is true that the total vote soared from around 359,000 to 1,155,400 and that the percentage of voter participation more than doubled. Traditionally, students of the Jackson period have been impressed by this steep increase in voting and by way of explanation have identified the causal factors as the reduction of suffrage qualifications, the democratic influence of the West, or the personal magnetism of Jackson. The validity of each of these hypotheses needs to be reexamined.

In no one of the states in which electors were chosen by popular vote was any significant change made in suffrage qualifications between 1824 and 1828. Subsequently, severe restrictions were maintained in Rhode Island until 1842, when some liberalization was effected, and in Virginia down to 1850. In Louisiana, where the payment of a tax was a requirement, the character of the state tax system apparently operated to restrict the suffrage at least as late as 1845. Thus with the three exceptions noted, the elimination of suffrage barriers was hardly a factor in producing an enlarged electorate during the Jackson and post-Jackson periods. Furthermore, all but a few states had extended the privilege of voting either to all male taxpayers or to all adult male citizens by 1810. After Connecticut eliminated its property qualification in 1818, Massachusetts in 1821, and New York in 1821 and 1826, only Rhode Island, Virginia, and Louisiana were left on the list of "restrictionist" states.¹⁶ Neither Jackson's victory nor the increased vote in 1828 can be attributed to the presence at the polls of a newly enfranchised mass of voters.

¹⁶ There is no reliable study of suffrage qualifications, but the standard account is Kirk H. Porter, *A History of Suffrage in the United States* (Chicago, 1918). Porter erred in stating that New Jersey retained a property requirement until 1844; it was replaced in 1807 by taxpayer suffrage. See my *The History of Voting in New Jersey: A Study of the Development of*

Similarly, it does not appear that the western states led the way in voter participation.¹⁷ Prior to 1824, for example, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had never brought to the polls as much as 60 per cent of their adult white males. Most of the eastern states had surpassed that level by considerable margins. In the election of 1828 six states registered votes in excess of 70 per cent of their adult white male populations. They were in order of rank: New Hampshire, Maryland, Ohio, New Jersey, Kentucky, and New York. The six leaders in 1832 were: New Hampshire, Kentucky, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. It will be obvious that the West, however that region may be defined, was not leading the "mighty democratic uprising." Western influences, then, do not explain the increased vote in 1828.

There remains to be considered the factor of Jackson's personal popularity. Did Jackson, the popular hero, attract voters to the polls in unprecedented proportions? The comparisons that have already been made between the Jackson elections and other elections—state and national—before, during, and after his presidency would suggest a negative answer to the question. Granted that a majority of the voters in 1828 favored Jackson, it is not evident that his partisans stormed the polls any more enthusiastically than did the Adams men. Of the six highest states in voter participation in 1828, three favored Adams and three were for Jackson, which could be interpreted to mean that the convinced Adams supporters turned out no less zealously for their man than did the ardent Jacksonians. When Van Buren replaced Jackson in 1836, the voting average increased slightly over 1832. And, as has been demonstrated, the real manifestation of the "new democracy" came not in 1828 but in 1840.

The most satisfactory explanation for the increase in voter participation between 1824 and 1828 is a simple and obvious one. During the long reign of the Virginia dynasty, interest in presidential elections dwindled. In 1816 and 1820 there had been no contest. The somewhat fortuitous termination of the Virginia succession in 1824 and the failure of the congressional caucus to solve the problem of leadership succession threw the choice of a President upon the electorate. But popular interest was dampened by the confusion of choice presented by the multiplicity of candidates, by the disintegration of the old national parties, by the fact that in most states one or another of

Election Machinery, 1664-1911 (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), 100. Porter's statement that a freehold property requirement existed in Tennessee under the 1796 constitution is based on a misreading of that document. Porter, *Suffrage*, 24, 80; Francis N. Thrope, *Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws* (7 vols., Washington, D. C., 1909), VI, 3418.

¹⁷ See Table I.

the candidates was so overwhelmingly popular as to forestall any semblance of a contest, and possibly by the realization that the election would ultimately be decided by the House of Representatives. By 1828 the situation had altered. There were but two candidates in the field, each of whom had substantial sectional backing. A clear-cut contest impended, and the voters became sufficiently aroused to go to the polls in moderate numbers.

One final question remains. Why was the vote in the Jackson elections relatively low when compared with previous and contemporary state elections and with presidential votes after 1840? The answer, in brief, is that in most states either Jackson or his opponent had such a one-sided advantage that the result was a foregone conclusion. Consequently there was little incentive for the voters to go to the polls.

This factor can be evaluated in fairly specific quantitative terms. If the percentage of the total vote secured by each candidate in each state in the election of 1828 is calculated, the difference between the percentages can be used as an index of the closeness, or one-sidedness, of the contest. In Illinois, for example, Jackson received 67 per cent of the total vote and Adams, 33; the difference—thirty-four points—represents the margin between the candidates. The average difference between the candidates, taking all the states together, was thirty-six points. Expressed another way this would mean that in the average state the winning candidate received more than twice the vote of the loser. Actually, this was the case in thirteen of the twenty-two states (see Table III).¹⁸ Such a wide margin virtually placed these states in the “no contest” category.

A remarkably close correlation existed between the size of the voter turnout and the relative closeness of the contest. The six states previously listed as having the greatest voter participation in 1828 were among the seven states with the smallest margin of difference between the candidates. The exception was Louisiana, where restrictions on the suffrage curtailed the vote. Even in this instance, however, it is significant that voter participation in Louisiana reached a record high. In those states, then, where there was a close balance of political forces the vote was large, and conversely, where the contest was very one sided, the vote was low.

Most of the states in 1828 were so strongly partial to one or another of the candidates that they can best be characterized as one-party states. Adams encountered little opposition in New England, except in New Hampshire, and Jackson met with hardly any resistance in the South. It was chiefly in

¹⁸ The index figures in the table represent the difference between the percentages of the total popular vote secured by the two major candidates in each state. For the election of 1832, the figures represent only the difference between the votes obtained by Clay and Jackson.

TABLE III
Differential between Percentages of Total Vote Obtained by
Major Presidential Candidates, 1828-1844

State	1828	1832	1836	1840	1844
Maine	20	10	20	1	13
New Hampshire	7	13	50	11	19
Vermont	50	10	20	29	18
Massachusetts	66	30	9	16	12
Rhode Island	50	14	6	23	20
Connecticut	50	20	1	11	5
New York	2	4	9	4	1
New Jersey	4	1	1	4	1
Pennsylvania	33	16	4	1	2
Delaware	—	2	6	10	3
Maryland	2	1	7	8	5
Virginia	38	50	13	1	6
North Carolina	47	70	6	15	5
Georgia	94	100	4	12	4
Kentucky	1	9	6	29	8
Tennessee	90	90	16	11	1
Louisiana	6	38	3	19	3
Alabama	80	100	11	9	18
Mississippi	60	77	2	7	13
Ohio	3	3	4	9	2
Indiana	13	34	12	12	2
Illinois	34	37	10	2	12
Missouri	41	32	21	14	17
Arkansas	—	—	28	13	26
Michigan	—	—	9	4	6
Average Differential	36	36	11	11	9

the middle states and the older West that the real battle was waged. With the removal of Adams from the scene after 1828, New England became less of a one-party section, but the South remained extremely one sided. Consequently it is not surprising that voter participation in 1832 failed even to match that of 1828.

Here, certainly, is a factor of crucial importance in explaining the dimensions of the voter turnout in the Jackson elections. National parties were still in a rudimentary condition and were highly unbalanced from state to state. Indeed, a two-party system scarcely could be said to exist in more than half of the states until after 1832. Where opposing parties had been formed to contest the election, the vote was large, but where no parties, or only one, took the field, the vote was low. By 1840, fairly well-balanced parties had been organized in virtually every state. In only three states did

the margin between Harrison and Van Buren exceed twenty points, and the average for all the states was only eleven points. The result was generally high voter participation.¹⁹

When Jacksonian democracy is viewed from the perspectives employed in this analysis, its political dimensions in so far as they relate to the behavior of the electorate can be described with some precision. None of the Jackson elections involved a "mighty democratic uprising" in the sense that voters were drawn to the polls in unprecedented proportions. When compared with the peak participation recorded for each state before 1824, or with contemporaneous gubernatorial elections, or most particularly with the vast outpouring of the electorate in 1840, voter participation in the Jackson elections was unimpressive. The key to the relatively low presidential vote would seem to be the extreme political imbalance that existed in most states as between the Jacksonians and their opponents. Associated with this imbalance was the immature development of national political parties. Indeed, it can be highly misleading to think in terms of national parties in connection with the Jackson elections. As balanced, organized parties subsequently made their appearance from state to state, and voters were stimulated by the prospect of a genuine contest, a marked rise in voter participation occurred. Such conditions did not prevail generally across the nation until 1840, and then at last the "mighty democratic uprising" took place.

¹⁹ Careful analysis of the data in Table III will suggest that there were three fairly distinct stages in the emergence of a nationally balanced two-party system. Balanced parties appeared first in the middle states between 1824 and 1828. New England remained essentially a one-party section until after Adams had passed from the scene; then competing parties appeared. In the South and the newer West, a one-party dominance continued until divisions arose over who should succeed Jackson. Sectional loyalties to favorite sons obviously exerted a determining influence on presidential politics, and consequently on party formation, in the Jackson years.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Soviet Historiography and America's Role in the Intervention

GEORGE F. KENNAN*

THE postwar years, and particularly the last decade, have witnessed the appearance in Russia of a considerable body of historical literature devoted either directly or indirectly to Soviet-American relations in the initial period of Soviet power. This literature has been concerned primarily with the role of the United States in the Allied intervention and in the Russian civil war. The attention given to this subject by Soviet historians over the period in question, in fact, has considerably exceeded that which the subject has received in the West during the same years.

While there are significant variations in the degree of ideological coloration, all of this material is written in Communist terms and involves frequent use of expressions that would not be accepted in Western scholarly circles as having any clearly established scientific meaning. Though this naturally complicates the use of the material by Western historians and impedes the normal process of international scholarly discussion, it would not, in itself, constitute an insuperable barrier to the achievement of a certain community of effort, designed to develop at least a body of factual material on which both sides could agree as a starting point for interpretation. But for this there would also be necessary something like a common standard in the treatment and use of historical evidence, and in particular a common willingness to respect not only the individual fact but the preponderant and obvious weight of available factual evidence as the supreme arbiter of historical controversy.

It is this common standard that seems frequently to be lacking. Occasionally, in the perusal of Soviet historical material, one does indeed seem to feel himself in the presence of people from whom he is divided by no

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very deep and significant gulf in this respect. This is particularly the case when one is dealing with phases of history in which the Soviet Union or the Russian Communist party were not directly involved. Even with reference to the history of the early period of Soviet foreign relations there have been Soviet historians whose practices in this regard did not differ too widely from those of Western scholarship, or, for that matter, of the great Russian historians of the past. But generally in these recent years—especially before 1953 and after 1956—Soviet historiography on this latter subject has been marked by an attitude toward the rules of historical evidence that has brought deep discouragement to those on the Western side who had hoped, in turning to the works of their Soviet colleagues, for aid and enrichment in their own efforts to understand and illuminate the period in question. The purpose of this article is to illustrate why this is so.

The volume of the relevant material is great, and random examples would probably not suffice to indicate the intensity of the practices to which a Western historian might have to take exception. For this reason, I have chosen, by way of example, a single, relatively brief document that is both recent and authoritative and touches closely on subjects with which I am particularly familiar. My selection is the chapter entitled "Concerning the Role of the Imperialists of the USA in Carrying Out the Intervention in the USSR in the Years 1917–1920," from the volume *Concerning Certain Questions of the History of the Civil War in the USSR*, by S. F. Naïda.¹

Naïda is a military historian and a prominent and responsible figure in the Soviet academic community. A doctor of historical sciences, a leading member of the historical faculty of Moscow University, and reportedly a major general by rank, he has specialized in the history of the Russian civil war of 1918–1920. In 1956 he was director of the Section for the History of the Civil War in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, under the Central Committee of the Communist party. He is one of those who has been completing the work on the official Soviet history of the civil war. He has been an active critic of the work of other Soviet writers on the civil war and the intervention. Some months ago he assumed the editorship of one of the leading Soviet historical magazines, *Voprosy istorii* (Questions of History). These facts would suggest that he stands relatively high in the ranks of Soviet historians in point of experience, erudition, and authority.

Naïda's article contains numbers of sweeping statements for which no detailed argument is offered. The "American imperialists," we are told, re-

¹ S. F. Naïda, *O nekotorykh voprosakh istorii grazhdanskoi voiny v S.S.S.R.* (Moscow, 1958), 70–105.

peatedly tried to strangle the Soviet state in its infancy, to take merciless reprisals on the workers and peasants, to turn Russia into an American colony. They tried, it is said, to prolong the world war in 1917-1918. They secretly sought the strengthening of Germany as a result of the war. In particular, they were, we are assured, the *principal* organizers "of *all* the forces of external and internal revolution [in Russia].... The *leading* initiators of anti-Soviet intervention and the incendiaries of the civil war...." They were "the initiators of *all* the campaigns of the Entente and *all* the more major anti-Soviet conspiracies, diversionary actions and blockades of Russia, of her partition, and of the creation on her territory of a series of small states. . . ."²

With allegations of this order one obviously cannot deal in the space of a single article. There is, however, one general feature of Naida's chapter of which special mention must be made. In the course of thirty-five pages, he uses some eighty times the phrase "American imperialists." In addition, a number of similar expressions of equal vagueness—"the American reactionaries," "the American capitalists," "imperialist circles of the USA," "American bourgeois politicians," "the interventionists," "aggressive imperialist circles," "the American millionaires," "American leading circles"—are employed. I cannot refrain from pointing out that these expressions are not sufficiently precise to serve a serious historical purpose. They are so imprecise, in fact, that serious evaluation of statements in which they are used becomes itself difficult.

Whom does Naida mean when he refers to the "American imperialists"? In some instances the reference is apparently to the United States government; in others the context would suggest that he has private American business concerns in mind. In one case the expression is evidently used to refer to the American Relief Administration. To judge the accuracy of many of his statements one would have to know precisely which of these organizations or categories he is considering.

So much for the generalities. Let us now examine a small selection of the detailed points made in Naida's article.

1. *The statement* [p. 82]:

In the first days after the establishment of Soviet power, the American Military Mission addressed itself, at the General Field Headquarters, to General Dukhonin and other tsarist generals with a summons not to recognize Soviet power but to employ the resources of the Headquarters for the creation of an all-Russian bourgeois government.

² *Ibid.*, 88 (italics are mine).

The facts:

Major Monroe C. Kerth, the United States military representative at headquarters, addressed to General N. N. Dukhonin on November 27, 1917, a protest against the conclusion by the Russians of a separate armistice with the Germans. The key passage in this one-sentence communication read as follows:

... since the United States of America and Russia are united in fact in a war which is essentially a struggle of democracy against autocracy, my Government protests categorically and vigorously against any form of separate armistice that might be concluded by Russia. . . .³

The letter contained no reference to the question of recognition of Soviet power or to the creation of an all-Russian bourgeois government.

The actual text of Kerth's letter was not unavailable to Naida. It appears verbatim in the third volume of the *History of the Civil War in the USSR*, prepared by a group of scholars of whom Naida was one, under the supervision of an editorial commission among the members of which his name appears in first place.

2. *The statement* [p. 83]:

At the same time [around the time of the October revolution] the foreign imperialists and particularly the imperialists of the USA attached great importance to the organization of counterrevolutionary bourgeois-nationalist governments, intending to utilize them as weapons for the overthrow of Soviet power.

Thus the American consul in Tiflis Smith, Ambassador Francis and the Consul General in Moscow Summers tried as early as 1917 to create a federation of the Trans-Caucasus, the Kuban, Terek and Don regions and the Ukraine, headed by bourgeois nationalist governments, in order to obtain in the south of Russia a theater of action for the struggle against the Soviet state.

At the direction of Francis and of the State Department of the USA, Consul Smith participated in the creation in 1918 of the counterrevolutionary bourgeois nationalist governments of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaidzhan.

The facts:

Throughout the period under reference, American Consul F. Willoughby Smith, stationed at Tiflis, bombarded his superiors in the United States government with somewhat confused requests that he be authorized to encourage the establishment of an autonomous regional administration in that part of Russia and the utilization of native units from this region in the Russian army on the Turkish front. When, after the Communist seizure of

³ From a French translation included in the article "Nakanune peremiriya," *Krasnyy arkhiv*, XXIII (1927), 195-249.

power in Petrograd, this latter army began to disintegrate under the demoralizing impact of the Soviet move for an armistice on the European front, Smith asked for money to help hold the army together and to support whatever continued military efforts might be possible.

All of these requests were plainly motivated by the belief that they would serve the over-all military interests of the Allies in the war against Germany. Some predated the October revolution, and therefore could scarcely have been directed to the overthrow of Soviet power. None was granted. The American ambassador at Petrograd, David R. Francis, on October 5, 1917, notified Smith that the step he was then recommending (assignment of local territorial units to the Turkish front) was considered to be "one relating to internal affairs in which the Embassy can take no action."⁴ So far as I can ascertain, Smith received four instructions from the Department of State during this period. On November 26, 1917, he was told that the Department "cannot encourage tendencies in any of these directions."⁵ On December 15, the Department wired: "... do not commit this Government."⁶ On December 28, it stated: "Only instructions for you for present are to keep us informed."⁷ Similarly, on March 30, 1918: "The United States is not in a position to support active military operations on Caucasus front."⁸

Smith's tendency to exceed his authority was the subject of much anxiety to his superiors both in Russia and in Washington, among others to his immediate supervisory chief, Consul General Maddin Summers in Moscow. On January 10, 1918, Summers wrote privately to the counselor of the American embassy at Petrograd, J. Butler Wright, to confirm his own impression that Smith had been exceeding his instructions in his various initiatives.⁹ Wright, in his reply, concurred with Summers' judgment, and expressed his own concern over the situation. There is no evidence whatsoever of an instruction from either Summers or Francis or the Department of State to Smith, encouraging him along the lines of his own recommendations.

One is constantly struck, in reading Soviet diplomatic history, by the freedom with which the recommendations or personal views of individual junior officials of "bourgeois" governments are cited as evidence of official policy, regardless of whether they were approved and supported by the responsible superiors of these officials. There seems to be no recognition of the

⁴ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, Russia* (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1931-32), II, 578. Hereafter cited as *FR*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 582.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 590.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 601.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 623.

⁹ Petrograd Embassy 800. File, 1918, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

fact that people could honestly disagree, and honestly express this disagreement.

3. *The statement* [p. 83]:

The American imperialists in 1918 established contacts with the Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalist Central Rada; and in the beginning of 1919, having extended to the Petlyuravites major aid through the French, they suggested the recognition by the Entente of the counterrevolutionary Petlyura government—the Directorate.

The facts:

In the summer of 1917, just prior to the establishment of Soviet power, the United States government had taken up with the provisional government the question of the opening of a United States consulate at Kiev. Before a reply was made, the Communist seizure of power occurred in Petrograd. A few weeks later, in mid-December 1917, the Ukraine being still effectively outside the control of the new Soviet government, Ambassador Francis detailed Consul Douglas Jenkins to Kiev to find out what could be done about the opening of the consulate. He specifically (these are his own words) "cautioned Jenkins against recognizing any government" in that part of Russia.¹⁰ Jenkins proceeded to Kiev and spent some weeks there waiting for the situation to clarify itself. Fearing that a political interpretation might be given to any contacts he might have with the Ukrainian authorities, he refrained for a period of several weeks from even making a courtesy call at the "foreign office" of the Ukrainian Rada in Kiev. Only on January 23, 1918, when forced to do so by a governmental order (to which he would otherwise have been subject) to the effect that all nonresidents should leave Kiev, did he call on the foreign minister of the Rada in order to ask permission to remain. The report of the conversation, as given by Jenkins to the Department of State in a confidential despatch, was as follows:

Mr. Schulgin met me pleasantly and said there would be no objection whatever to my remaining in Kieff. He said some pleasant things about the United States and I talked about the attractiveness of Kieff and the very evident possibilities of great agricultural and industrial development in the Ukraine.¹¹

This is as close to the sinister as Jenkins' mission ever came. Shortly thereafter the Rada made a separate peace with the Germans. Kiev was swallowed up by the renewed German military advance, and all Allied representatives were obliged to leave. No exchange of views on a political subject

¹⁰ See Francis' telegram to the Secretary of State, No. 2090, Dec. 12, 1917, *FR, 1918, Russia*, II, 649-50.

¹¹ Petrograd Embassy 800. File, 1918, despatch from Jenkins of Jan. 23, 1918, to the Petrograd Embassy, National Archives.

took place between the United States government and the Rada. There is no evidence of any political interest being manifested in this body at any time by any responsible American statesman.

As for Simon Petlyura and the Directorate (the regime which took over briefly in the Ukraine following the departure of the Germans in the fall of 1918), I am unable to imagine where Naida could have found evidence indicating that recognition of Petlyura was "suggested" by the United States government in the beginning of 1919. The major American statesmen were at that time attending the Paris Peace Conference. Their concern at the moment was to clarify the question of possible Russian representation at the Conference; and pending such clarification they were wholly disinclined to take any unilateral action with regard to any of the competing factions in Russia.

Could Naida have had in mind here the Prinkipo proposal? It would be a curious flight of interpretation to describe Wilson's acquiescence in this proposal as a suggestion for recognition of Petlyura. It could just as aptly be described as a suggestion for recognition of the Soviet government.

The representatives of the Ukrainian Directorate in Paris had dealings (if their memoirs may be believed) with only two responsible American figures at the Peace Conference: with Professor Robert H. Lord of Harvard University and (in a single interview of June 3, 1919) with Secretary of State Robert Lansing. In the memoirs of one of these Ukrainian representatives, Arnold D. Margolin, it was stated that Professor Lord "as a rule . . . refrained from expressing his views and limited himself to asking us questions." Lansing, Margolin relates, showed himself "lamentably misinformed" about the situation in Eastern Europe and frankly hostile to the establishment of an independent Ukrainian regime.¹² The Ukrainians received from him not the slightest encouragement in their quest for recognition by the Allied powers.

As for the alleged extension of major aid to the Petlyuravites by the United States through the French, the source of this charge is again not indicated. What the French themselves did is another matter, but that they were in any way encouraged by the United States government to assist Petlyura seems most improbable. When, in the autumn of 1919, the Department of State discovered that the American Liquidation Commission in Paris, charged with the disposal of surplus army clothing and supplies, had contracted to sell certain of this material to the representatives of the Ukrainian Directorate, it at once remonstrated with the Commission and asked that

¹² Arnold D. Margolin, *From a Political Diary: Russia, the Ukraine, and America 1905-1945* (New York, 1946), 47-48.

the contract, if possible, be annulled. The Department expressed itself, in this connection, "disposed to regard the Ukrainian separatist movement as largely the result of Austrian and German propaganda seeking the disruption of Russia."¹³ The materials, so far as I am able to ascertain, got no nearer to the Ukraine than a warehouse in Marseilles.

4. *The statement* [p. 83]:

On December 3, 1917, on the initiative of the American imperialists, there convened a special conference in which the USA, England, France and allied countries participated, and at which it was decided to organize in the immediate future an open, anti-Soviet military intervention, in which connection the participants in the conference distributed among themselves the roles to be played in this dirty business. The principal role in the Far East, in Siberia and in considerable degree in the North, the USA took upon itself. They expected, having once seized the basic regions of Russia, to gain a foothold, with the help of the White-Czechoslovak Corps and the adherents of Kolchak, to seize positions in the Urals as well, to push through to the Volga, to penetrate to the south and, having thus created a wide theater of operations, to put an end speedily to Soviet power.

The facts:

It is difficult to know to what conference Naida has reference. The period in question was before the abandonment by the Soviet government of the old Julian calendar. In other instances, Naida employs the double date; but in this instance he gives no indication whether his December 3 is based on the old calendar or the new one.

The content suggests that if the old calendar was used, the reference might conceivably be to the Anglo-French diplomatic discussions that took place in Paris on December 22-23 (on the Western calendar), and at which indeed the participants did agree on a rough allotment of the areas in southern Russia in which each should act to do what could be done to restore local resistance to the Germans. But the Old Style dates of these discussions are correctly named in the official *History of the Civil War in the USSR* on which Naida collaborated, as December 9-10, not December 3. This meeting, furthermore, did not take place on American initiative. The United States did not participate, nor did any other of the Allied powers aside from the French and British. The idea of promoting a counterrevolution in Russia, incidentally, was specifically repudiated by the participants.

We are left to conclude, therefore, that Naida's date was based on the new calendar, in which case the reference could have been only to an informal meeting on December 3, 1917, at the French Foreign Office, of a number of the senior Allied statesmen who happened to be in Paris at that time for the

¹³ *FR, 1919, Russia* (Washington, D. C., 1937), 783-84.

sessions of the Inter-Allied Conference and the Supreme War Council. The meeting in question was one of a series of such meetings held in the last days of November and the first days of December. The need for these conferences as a means of coordinating the wartime policies of the Allies was obvious, and the presence of the various statesmen in Paris provided a natural occasion for them. It would be inaccurate to attribute them to the "initiative" of any particular power, particularly the United States. The French were of course the official hosts. The American representative was the personal emissary of President Wilson, Colonel Edward M. House.

At the meeting on December 3, Colonel House did not initiate in any way the discussion of Russian matters. Marshal Foch, however, introduced a number of resolutions, the first of which envisaged Allied occupation of the Trans-Siberian Railway as a means of assuring a line of communications to the Rumanian army, which had been placed in an extremely precarious situation by the Bolshevik peace move. The Japanese representatives, British Foreign Minister Balfour, and Colonel House all spoke in opposition to this resolution, and it was not accepted. Writing in his diary that evening, Colonel House referred to the meeting as follows:

I sat in with the Prime Ministers at eleven o'clock. . . . General Foch was there and introduced one foolish resolution after another. It has lessened my good opinion of him. Balfour leaned over and said to me: "Did you ever hear of such proposals?"¹⁴

It is abundantly plain, not only from the record of this meeting, but from a number of evidences of his personal views, that House was strongly opposed at that time, and for months afterward, to any form of Allied intervention in Russia, fearing that any such action would tend to throw the Russians into the arms of the Germans. He was fully aware, furthermore, that President Wilson had similar views. He would not, therefore, have been in a position to encourage any schemes of this nature during the period of his visit to Paris in November–December 1917.

Even had Foch's proposal been approved, Naida's statement would still be wide of the mark. No division of roles of the sort he alleges was involved in what was discussed at this meeting. Particularly absurd is the charge that the "American imperialists" were scheming to use the Czechoslovak Corps and the "Kolchakovites" as means of gaining a foothold in the Urals. The Czechs were at that time still in line on the eastern European front. The idea that they should be evacuated through Siberia had not yet been even seriously discussed. Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak, for his part, was at that mo-

¹⁴ Diary, Dec. 3, 1917, Edward M. House MSS, Yale University Library.

ment in Yokohama, attempting to return to Russia from the United States. He had heard of the Bolshevik seizure of power only on the day he sailed from San Francisco. He was now wholly uncertain as to his plans, and had discussed them with no American official. Neither he nor anyone else could conceivably have guessed that one year later he would be in a position to play a political role in Siberia.

5. *The statement* [pp. 84, 85]:

Above all, the government of the USA promised the Soviet government economic and military aid, on condition that it continue the war with Germany.

In promising aid to the Soviet government, the American imperialists advanced a number of conditions. Thus they demanded, for example, that the Soviet government permit the USA, England and France to bring troops into Soviet Russia for "the common struggle" against the Austro-German and Turkish troops, and that the military training of the formations of the Red Army and Fleet should be placed in the hands of American, English and French "instructors" as well as of tsarist generals, admirals and officers, in which connection the institution of [military] commissars should be abolished, [etc.]. . . .

The facts:

At no time did the United States government promise military or economic aid to the Soviet government during the First World War. The efforts of American representatives in Russia to induce the United States government to do just this were unsuccessful without exception. The nearest the United States government ever came to a communication to the Soviet government on this subject was the message addressed by President Wilson to the Fourth Special All-Russian Congress of Soviets, convened in March 1918 to consider ratification of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. In this message, the President, after expressing sympathy with the Russian people, went on to say:

Although the Government of the United States is unhappily not now in a position to render the direct and effective aid it would wish to render, I beg to assure the people of Russia through the Congress that it will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence in her own affairs. . . .¹⁵

Shortly after the dispatch of the President's message, meetings of the Allied chiefs of mission and military attachés in Russia took place in Vologda. Here various questions of Allied policy toward the Soviet government were discussed, including the question as to the terms on which military aid to the Soviet government should be extended, in the event it were to be extended at all. On April 3, the French representatives brought in to one of these

¹⁵ The text of Wilson's message to the Soviet Congress will be found in *FR, 1918, Russia*, I, 395-96.

meetings the draft of a *procès-verbal* devoted to this question. The draft's contents would suggest that it was this document which served as the basis for Naida's statement concerning the conditions the "American imperialists" are supposed to have placed on their alleged offer of military assistance.¹⁶

Francis never forwarded this document to the State Department, nor did he even specifically mention its existence. It is clear that he did not accept it, for he cabled Washington that on two points (both ones at issue in the French draft) he had not been able to accept the views of his colleagues and that they had consented to defer such demands for the present. Nevertheless, the Department of State, worried lest Francis go too far, wired him: "...do not give Soviet promise military support as requested in queries submitted through you and through military attaché. . . ."¹⁷ This put an end to further American participation in the discussion. No such proposal was ever made to the Soviet government in the name of the government of the United States.

6. *The statement* [p. 86]:

The American imperialists took most active part in the organization of the mutiny of the Czechoslovak Corps. . . . Thus, as early as the autumn of 1917 in Kiev, and then in December in Jassy, American representatives conducted negotiations with representatives of . . . Masaryk concerning the use of this Corps for the struggle against Soviet power. Masaryk's agent, the officer Cherzhenski, was asked pointblank the question: ". . . is the Czechoslovak army prepared for an armed uprising against the Bolsheviki and will it be able to occupy the region between the Don and Bessarabia?" American representatives also met with Masaryk himself, who was in Russia in the winter of 1917-1918. From March 1918 these negotiations were continued in Washington, where Masaryk had gone in order finally to sell the soldiers of the Czechoslovak Corps to the American imperialists.

The facts:

That Tomáš Masaryk should have occasionally met with Americans in Russia in 1917-1918 is in no way surprising and proves nothing. He was a highly respected Allied statesman, and he had normal social relations with his Allied colleagues in Russia. How such relations could be taken as evidence that he and these Americans conspired to use the Czechoslovak Corps for an armed action against the Bolsheviki is wholly unclear.

Masaryk was personally, throughout this period, firmly averse to any schemes that involved the retention of the Corps in Russia. The desire to as-

¹⁶ The French text of this document will be found in Joseph Noulens, *Mon ambassade en Russie soviétique, 1917-1919* (2 vols., Paris, 1933), II, 56-57. An English text was sent to the War Department by the American military attaché in Russia. A copy can now be found in the State Department File 861.00/1730½, National Archives.

¹⁷ FR, 1918, Russia, I, 494-95.

sure its evacuation to the western front was the guiding motive of his entire activity in Russia in 1917 and 1918. The disintegration of the Russian army and the Bolshevik peace move in late 1917 made evacuation from the eastern front urgently necessary. These events meant, as Masaryk related in his autobiography, "that we could no longer fight against our enemies in Russia; hence all our effort was concentrated on getting to France."¹⁸ He had the following to say in the same context about the efforts made to involve the Corps at that time in the Russian civil war:

Ranged against our departure were the politicians and military commanders of the Tsarist and pre-Bolshevik Russia. Generals [L. G.] Kornilov and [M. V.] Alekseyev, and also [Paul N.] Milyukov, among others, pressed me to join them in the fight against the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks and the Ukrainians were also against our departure insofar as they both hoped to win our army over to their side. . . .

All these plans I rejected.¹⁹

When Masaryk left Russia in March 1918, he did so in the confidence that the evacuation of the Corps through Siberia was arranged and assured. His ensuing visit to the United States was motivated largely by his desire to complete these arrangements at the western end. Neither in the statement for the American ambassador in Japan which he prepared while en route, nor in his informal meeting with State Department officials on May 16 (his first real discussion with responsible American government representatives in Washington), nor in his meeting with Secretary of State Lansing on June 3 (ten days after the uprising of the Corps in Siberia), nor in the interview which he finally succeeded (after long delay) in obtaining with President Wilson on June 19, did he show any enthusiasm or interest either for intervention generally or for the suggestion that the Corps should remain in Russia.

The Czechoslovak uprising itself, occurring in late May 1918, was, as is known, the product of orders given by the commanders of the Corps on the spot. The course followed by these commanders in authorizing the revolt against Soviet authority not only ran counter to the expressed wishes of Masaryk and the Czechoslovak National Council but was conceived as a means of avoiding compliance with a directive received from the Council which the commanders considered dangerous to the security of the Corps. It was opposed by the French military liaison officers (the official representatives of the Allied military command in France) attached to the Corps.

The United States government knew nothing of the circumstances out

¹⁸ T. G. Masaryk, *Die Weltrevolution* (Berlin, 1925), 198.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

of which the Czechoslovak uprising arose and had not the slightest relation to its outbreak.

In support of his charge that the Americans were conspiring with Masaryk as early as autumn 1917 to use the Corps to overthrow the Soviet government, Naida cites a question said to have been asked by an unnamed person (he does not say this was an American, but allows his readers to infer that it was) of a Czechoslovak officer on an unnamed occasion and in a context unspecified. For this he gives a footnote source which, when pursued, brings the reader to a Soviet book published in 1922, now long out of print and apparently unavailable in the United States.²⁰ The incident in question, if it occurred at all, presumably took place at a conference of Allied military attachés in Jassy in November 1917, at which were discussed a number of rather desperate possible expedients for rescuing the Rumanian army from the impossible position in which it had been placed by the Soviet peace move. The French had an idea at that time of using the Czechoslovak Corps and other non-Russian units loyal to the Allies to form, together with the Rumanians, a nucleus of continued military resistance to the Central Powers on the eastern front. This would have necessitated opening and maintaining a supply route through southern Russia, which was as yet only partially in Bolshevik hands. Any such undertaking would certainly have encountered Soviet opposition and could to this extent have been described as incidentally "anti-Soviet," though its main motivation would have lain in the prosecution of the war against Germany. The idea was presumably discussed, among others, at the Jassy conference. That questions should have been put to the Czechs, in this connection, about the capabilities of the latter for holding territory in southern Russia against the assumed opposition of the Soviet government is not surprising. If true, however, it would not have constituted evidence that the Americans had conspired with Masaryk to overthrow the Soviet government.

7. *The statement* [p. 92]:

In 1919 the State Department of the USA fabricated a map which reflected the

²⁰ The source referred to in Naida's book was Volume III of the above-mentioned *History of the Civil War in the USSR*, 182. This referred, in turn, to B. Šmeral (Šmeral), *Chekhoslováci i Esery* [The Czechoslovaks and the S-R's] (Moscow, 1922). A book published in Russia at a somewhat later date (F. Popov, *Chekhoslovatskí myatyezhi i Samarskaya uchredilka* [The Czechoslovak Revolt and the Samara Constitutional Assembly] [Moscow, 1932]) cites at greater length the passage in question from Šmeral's book. This quotation suggests that Šmeral himself did not name or describe the questioner to whom he refers. If this is true, then Naida himself knew no more than do his readers who placed the question. None of this dissuaded him from weaving the quotation into the passage in such a way as to suggest that it came from American lips and was proof that the Americans were scheming at that time to use the Czechs for the overthrow of the Soviet government.

schemes of the imperialists for the dismemberment and enslavement of Russia. By way of elucidation of this map it was stated: "All of Russia should be [*sleduyet*'] divided into large natural regions, each with its specific economic life. In this connection no single region should be sufficiently independent to constitute a strong state." [The source for this statement is given as: "D. N. Miller, *My Diary of the Conference of Paris. With Documents*, New York, 1924, v. IV, pp. 214-220."]

The facts:

The reference here, as evidenced by Naida's footnote, is to an "Outline of Tentative Report and Recommendations," prepared not by the State Department but by the intelligence section of the United States delegation to the Peace Conference for guidance of the President and the delegates. This document was only in the nature of a recommendation. There is no evidence that it was ever formally approved by the President.

The text of the recommendation itself was as follows:

It is recommended:

1) That encouragement be given, at opportune times, to the reunion with Russia of those border regions of the south and west which have broken away and set up their own national governments, particularly the Baltic Provinces and the Ukraine, if reunion can be accomplished within a federalized or genuinely democratic Russia.

2) That there be excepted from the general application of the principle above mentioned Finland, Poland, the Armenians in Transcaucasia, and probably Lithuania. See map 4.²¹

In the subsequent "discussion" the following passage occurred:

Russia may be divided into great natural regions, each with its own distinctive economic life. No one region is self-sufficient enough to form a strong state. The economic welfare of all would be served by reunion on a federal basis, which would, of course, also have other evident advantages.

As will readily be seen, the recommendation was that with the exception of four specific border areas (in two of which the Soviet government had itself already recognized the creation of an independent state) American policy should be *opposed* to the permanent dismemberment of Russia and should favor reunion of the country on a liberal basis, allowing reasonable opportunity for the expression of the will of the respective peoples. This, Naida has contrived to portray as a decision *in favor* of the dismemberment and enslavement of Russia. To support his thesis he has neglected to mention the recommendation itself and has selected for quotation two sentences from the accompanying discussion, into each of which has been inserted a

²¹ David Hunter Miller, *My Diary at the Conference of Paris, with Documents* (21 vols., New York, [1924]), IV, 219.

verb with an imperative connotation (in one case *sleduyet'* [should be]; in the other, *ne dolzhna byt'* [should not, or must not, be]) to replace, respectively, the verbs "may be" and "is," which were actually there and which had no such connotation. This cannot be described otherwise than as a direct mistranslation. By no stretch of the translator's license can the phrase "may be divided" be properly rendered in Russian by *sleduyet' razdelit'*, or the phrase "no one region is self-sufficient enough" by *ni odna oblast' ne dolzhna byt' nastolko samostoyatelnoi*.

I do not mean to suggest that Naida was personally guilty of this mistranslation. It appeared at the height of the anti-American campaign of the years 1950-1952 in the works of two Soviet historians, A. Ye. Kunina and A. I. Melchin.²² Each of these at that time attributed the passage, as does Naida in the present instance, directly to David Hunter Miller's *Diary at the Conference of Paris*. It is worth noting, however, that in the second and more extended edition of her book, which was published in 1954, Madame Kunina had the prudence to omit this quotation altogether, restricting herself on this occasion to comments on the accompanying map. Melchin, similarly, in another work published in 1953,²³ included the passage but took pains to attribute it this time to Madame Kunina and not directly to the Miller diary. Surely these circumstances should have been sufficient to warn Naida against uncritical acceptance.

8. *The statement* [p. 100]:

The secretary of the American YMCA Ralph Albertson wrote that in the Russian North: "Every night American detachments led their victims out in batches and destroyed them," that on one occasion a convoy detachment of Americans shot more than thirty prisoners, that Americans used against Soviet people shells with poisonous substances. Ralph Albertson noted that the American interventionists dealt in a particularly bestial manner with communists, commissars, and political workers, ordering the soldiers not to take them prisoner but to kill them even when they were apprehended unarmed.

The facts:

This is not what Albertson said. These statements are obviously taken from pages seventy-one, eighty-six, and eighty-eight of Albertson's book *Fighting without a War*.²⁴

²² A. Ye. Kunina, *Proval amerikanskikh planov zavoyevaniya mirovogo gospodstva v 1917-1920 gg* [The Failure of the American Plans for the Achievement of World Domination, 1917-1920] (Moscow, 1951); A. I. Melchin, *Amerikanskaya interventsia na sovyetskoy Dalnem vostoke* [The American Intervention in the Soviet Far East] (Moscow, 1951).

²³ A. I. Melchin, *Razgrom amerikano-yaponskikh interventov na sovyetskoy Dalnem vostoke v 1920-1922 godakh* [The Smashing of the American-Japanese Intervention in the Soviet Far East, 1920-1922] (Moscow, 1953).

²⁴ Ralph Albertson, *Fighting without a War* (New York, 1920).

With respect to the shooting of people in batches at night, what Albertson actually wrote was this:

The execution of suspects made Bolsheviki right and left. The inquisitorial processes of the Russian puppets of the Military Intervention were necessarily so much like those of the old régime that they went far to dispel all illusions about the Military Intervention that might have remained in the peasant mind.

When night after night the firing squad took out its batches of victims it mattered not that no civilians were permitted on the streets. There were thousands of listening ears to hear the rat-tat-tat of the machine guns. . . .²⁵

This passage, it will be noted, not only makes no reference to Americans but plainly and specifically refers to the activities of the Russian units associated with the Allied command.

The remaining statements in Naida's paragraph cited above are all taken from the chapter of Albertson's book entitled "Atrocities." In this chapter there is not a single reference to Americans, nor is there anything that would permit the reader to associate the alleged incidents with American troops. Albertson did *not* say that it was a convoy detachment of *Americans* which shot more than thirty prisoners. He did *not* say that *Americans* used shells with poisonous substances. He did *not* say that *Americans* ordered the men to kill prisoners. I cannot find that Albertson said at any point that anyone, Americans or anyone else, dealt in a particularly bestial manner with "communists, commissars, and political workers."

Albertson was at the front both during the period when the Americans were participating and after their departure. He was, in fact, one of the last Americans to leave. That his reference to "our" atrocities did not necessarily mean Americans is clear from the following fact. The paragraph from which some of Naida's examples are taken also included a passage, omitted in Naida's charge, alleging that in taking the village of Borok "we" killed the civilian commissar in that town and left his bayoneted body lying in the street. Borok, actually, was taken by the British in the course of their final offensive on the Dvina front, in late summer 1919, designed to cover their evacuation. This was well after the departure of the last American troops.

No Americans participated in the senior command of the North Russian intervention or had any part in determining its policies.

As Naida is aware, the method of dealing with prisoners varied in the civil war in the North according to the individual fighting front, the type of unit employed, and the status of the prisoner. On certain fronts, at certain times, and in certain circumstances, the killing of prisoners was the common

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

practice on both sides. On the fronts where the Americans were involved, this was, as Naida should also know, not generally the case.

9. *The statement* [p. 101]:

Together with the English and French interventionists, the American plunderers took part in the establishment in the North of a concentration camp on the island of Mudyug. . . .

A no less terrible camp was established at Iokange, where the American interventionists, together with the British and the French, perpetrated bestial atrocities on the prisoners.

The facts:

The Americans, not participating in the command of the Archangel expedition, had nothing to do with the establishment of either of these places of detention. I cannot find that either was ever visited by an American during the period in question.

The use of Mudyug Island by the Archangel regime as a place of detention for political prisoners began in August 1918. The first group of prisoners was sent there on August 23. This was twelve days before the arrival of the American troops in the Archangel area. Thus the Americans could scarcely have taken part in the establishment of the prison camp there. It was guarded and in part administered, in the first months, by naval personnel from the French men-of-war stationed at Archangel. Later this task was taken over by White Russian detachments.²⁶ At no time did Americans participate in any of this work.

The place of detention at Iokange appears to have been originally established in 1918 by the Russian authorities at Murmansk, for prisoners from that place. No American had anything whatsoever to do with this. The Iokange camp was not used by the Archangel authorities at all until the late summer of 1919. This was well after the departure of the last American forces from the Archangel area.

10. *The statement* [p. 100]:

American troops participated in the cruel repression of the partisan movement in the Ussuri valley in August–September 1918 and in the summer of 1919. Here the American interventionists in the most bestial manner obliterated the entire population of entire regions, acting in the same manner as the bands of Semenov, Kalmykov, the Kolchakovites and the Japanese.

Having occupied the railway branch Vladivostok–Suchan and having seized the Suchan mines, the American interventionists began a merciless persecution of the population, particularly the partisans and their families. At the Skidelski mine, one of the American detachments, headed by a certain Pedders, succeeded in

²⁶ See P. Rasskazov, *Zapiski zaklyuchennogo* [Notes of a Prisoner] (Archangel, 1928).

seizing partisans from among the local workers. The prisoners were subjected to unbelievable torture. The American bandits, as was said in the newspaper "Krasnaya znamya" of March 28, 1920, "tortured them one by one, inflicting burns on their bodies, breaking the bones of their hands and feet and then dragging them out in broad daylight to the bushes and shooting dead the half-living people." On another occasion this same Pedders with his band got up a "peasant hunt." In the case of one peasant, the bandits cut off his nose, lips, and ears, broke his jaw, put his eyes out, and pierced him with bayonets.

The facts:

The allegation about the cruel suppression of the partisan movement in the Ussuri Valley in August-September 1918 could scarcely refer to anything other than the participation of a portion of the Twenty-seventh Infantry Battalion, USA, under Colonel Henry D. Styer, in a combined action with Japanese and Czechoslovak forces, under Japanese command, against what the American commander understood to be a force of Bolsheviks and German prisoners of war. The Twenty-seventh Infantry was the first American unit to arrive in Siberia, landing in Vladivostok on August 16. Its participation in this action was the result of a misunderstanding on the part of its commander. The Americans were kept by the Japanese in the rear echelons, presumably in order that they should not have the opportunity to check Japanese statements about the nature and strength of the enemy; and they took no part in any of the fighting.

This seems to be as close as any Americans came to participation in "the cruel repression of the partisan movement in the Ussuri valley in August-September 1918." On the arrival of the commander of the expeditionary force, General William S. Graves, on September 1, the Twenty-seventh Infantry passed entirely under his command. All American forces acted from that time on under strictest orders in implementation of General Graves's policy, which was not to involve his force in any way in Russian internal affairs, but to limit it to the guarding of those segments of the Trans-Siberian Railway and to supporting services entrusted by inter-Allied agreement to his protection.

In the pursuit of this policy, an American detachment participated, beginning September 11, 1918, in the guarding of the coal mines at Suchan, near Vladivostok. General Graves did not seek this responsibility; it was wished on him by the other Allied commanders. He made no changes in the ownership of the mines. The latter, therefore, were not "seized." In addition to the Americans, Japanese and, for a time, Russian-Cossack troops were also involved in the protection of the mines.

Up to May 1919 relations between the American detachment at Suchan

and the Russian partisan groups in nearby villages remained amicable. The Americans were even called upon on certain occasions by the villagers to act as witnesses to the truly abominable atrocities perpetrated by the local Russian Cossack detachments. As a result, General Graves did what he could to achieve the removal of those detachments from the vicinity. In May and June 1919 the partisans, who had now come under closer Communist control, began to make trouble for the operation of the mines and of the branch railway by which the mines were connected with the main line of the Trans-Siberian. In early June one American platoon suffered what its members considered to be a treacherous early morning attack in its barracks, involving severe American casualties. By the end of June the Americans found themselves obliged to take action against the partisans and to clear them out of some surrounding areas.

I am unable to find the faintest confirmation of an incident such as that described by Naida. The newspaper to which he refers (it is presumably the Vladivostok paper of the name given above, though he does not make this plain) is not available in this country. At the time this issue of the newspaper appeared, the American detachment had long been withdrawn from Suchan. The story thus must have referred to something supposed to have transpired at least several months before the story was written; but no date for the incident itself is indicated.

Other Soviet historians have also referred to atrocities said to have been perpetrated by an American by the name of Pedders; in one case he is referred to as Major John Pedders.²⁷ The roster of the Thirty-first Infantry Regiment, which provided the mine guard at Suchan, shows no officer by that name or any similar name. The United States Army records, in fact, fail to show anyone of this name, of any rank, as serving in Siberia at that time. In the examination of hundreds of documents from the official files of the Mine Guard Detachment,²⁸ I have been unable to find any reference to anyone with any such name or, indeed, to any incident resembling that which Naida relates.

There is reason to suppose that this anecdote, like others recited in various works of Soviet historians on this period, was derived from the tales told by various members of the partisan movement at the Second Congress of the Toilers of the Olginsk Raion of the Maritime Province, which took place in March 1920, just as the Americans were leaving Siberia. A comparison of

²⁷ Melchin, *Razgrom amerikano-yaponskikh interventov*, 21.

²⁸ American Expeditionary Force to Siberia, Suchan Mine Guard Detachment, War Department Records, National Archives.

these stories with what is known of the actual operations of the American force in Siberia suggests that the partisans were themselves the victims of much confusion, particularly when it came to distinguishing between the American forces, on the one hand, and the Japanese and White Russian forces (some of which wore British uniforms) on the other.

Only in one instance (July 3, 1919, in the villages of Kazanka and Novitskoe) are there known to have occurred serious violations of the rules of war on the part of one American detachment. These violations, all of which were incidental to combat, involved the shooting of at least one unarmed civilian and some unnecessary destruction of property. They flowed from orders issued by a second lieutenant who apparently lost his head in the heat of battle. His action met with most emphatic disapproval and condemnation on the part of his superior officers—a reaction with which, as a historian, I can only associate myself wholeheartedly. This is the only episode of this sort I have been able to discover in the records of the operations of the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia. It obviously is not the one that Naida describes. It involved no torture. It did not occur at the mine.

There may, of course, have been substance of some sort behind the tale Naida relates. Presumably, there is some reason why the name Pedders is mentioned instead of any other. But diligent search of the records available in this country fails to reveal what this substance might be; and nothing in the words of Naida and other Soviet historians suggests that any of them took the trouble to go beyond the Vladivostok press stories in the effort to find out what really happened.

These are only a few examples of Naida's practices in the use of historical materials out of a considerably greater number that could be cited from this one chapter to which I, for one, would have to take exception.

In the foreword to his book, Naida calls for a "merciless struggle . . . against bourgeois objectivism in science." He defines "bourgeois objectivism" as something that occurs "when certain authors, ignoring the concrete historical setting, attempt to argue this or that proposition, arbitrarily selecting isolated factlings [*faktiki*], citing them out of context, without relation to the whole." One suspects that for Naida "facts" are historical circumstances, or alleged or suggested circumstances, which serve a preconceived ideological interpretation of the historical process and are therefore to be treated with respect, whereas "factlings" are circumstances which, though they may be marked by the awkward quality of having actually occurred, fail to serve this preconceived interpretation, and are therefore to be despised. One must

ask forgiveness if he finds it impossible to accept this significant and revealing distinction.

To anyone with a serious interest in the eliciting of historical truth it can only be a source of sadness, and by no means of satisfaction, to be obliged to make these observations. As one who has had occasion to see something of contemporary Soviet historiography, I am happy to note, along with much that is unacceptable to me, the evidences of much else that commands respect: of seriousness of purpose, of hard work, of talent which not even the strictures of a rigid ideological discipline can wholly conceal. It is a source of deep satisfaction that we are beginning to see more of our Soviet colleagues at international gatherings of historians and to greet them as visitors to Western institutions. I am sure they will continue to find a warm welcome, even S. F. Naida, if he cares to come.

In particular, one does not object to being confronted with a different point of view. Among those of us who work in Naida's field of historical study, there is none, I am sure, who would not be free to admit that the Western countries have from time to time made serious mistakes in their relations with the Soviet Union. I know of none of us who is committed to proving that our side was without fault and that the diplomacy of the other side consisted exclusively of villainy.

If a corresponding forbearance could only be shown on the other side, I for one could hope that the study of history might yet be, as indeed it should be, one of the means by which each of our countries could gain a measure of perspective with regard to itself and by which we could begin to reduce the differences of outlook that now divide us.

American Continentalism: An Idea of Expansion, 1845-1910

CHARLES VEVIER*

IDEOLOGY is the means by which a nation bridges the gap between its domestic achievement and its international aspiration. American continentalism, as the term is used here, provided just such an order of ideology and national values. It consisted of two related ideas. First, it regarded the United States as possessing identical "national and imperial boundaries." These were located within the physical framework of a "remarkably coherent geographic unit of continental extent." Second, it viewed much of North America as a stage displaying the evolving drama of a unique political society, distinct from that of Europe and glowing in the white light of manifest destiny.¹ This attitude sharpened the practice of American foreign policy. Encountering the opposition of Europe's powers, it asserted that the United States was engaged in a domestic and therefore inevitable policy of territorial extension across the continent. American diplomacy in the nineteenth century thus appeared to demonstrate national political and social worth rather than acknowledge its active involvement in international affairs. Relying on its separation from the Old World, the United States redefined the conventional terms of foreign relations by domesticating its foreign policy.

But sharp and immediate disengagements in history are rare. Professor Norman Graebner has argued persuasively that the acquisition of Oregon and California—conventionally set within the background of territorial expansion to the west and guaranteed by manifest destiny—was due predominantly to maritime influence and executed by a President whose party repre-

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¹ Bernard De Voto, *The Course of Empire* (Boston, 1952), xiii and Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny* (Baltimore, Md., 1935), 1-2, 8. For an over-all definition of continentalism, see Charles A. Beard, *A Foreign Policy for America* (New York, 1940), 12-35. The argument presented in this paper is not in support or opposition to Beard as such; in fact, I have derived a considerable portion of the argument by reversing the order of Beard's term continental Americanism, in order to demonstrate that his insulationist outlook is also subject to an expansionist interpretation. See Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization* (New York, 1957), 887-88, who raises this issue in a mild way without intending to pursue it further.

sented the agrarian expansionism of Jefferson.² In spite of its apparent territorial insularity, American continentalism was bound to an older doctrine that had been overshadowed by the record of land acquisition of the 1840's. In these years, and in the 1850's as well, there were some men who were affected by the outlook of American continentalism and who adapted for their own ends the great objective of European expansion that dated from the age of Columbus and the Elizabethans. They sought to deepen commercial contact with Asia, an ambition that added a maritime dimension to the era of territorial expansion preceding the Civil War.

Students of American Far Eastern policy have already pointed out the rough coincidence of the westward movement across the continent with the rising activity of American interest in the Pacific Ocean and trade in China.³ By the early 1840's, Hawaii had already shifted into the continental orbit.⁴ Exploration of the Pacific Ocean had been undertaken by the government beginning with the Wilkes expedition in 1838 and concluding with the Ringgold voyages to the northern Pacific in 1853-1859.⁵ The Cushing Treaty with China in 1844 and the opening of Japan by Perry a decade later reflected the attraction of Far Eastern trade markets to American merchants on the Atlantic seaboard. The gold strike of 1849 stimulated railroad passage across the Isthmus of Panama, encouraged shipping operations between New York and California,⁶ and suggested continuation of this traffic to the Orient. The wider commercial possibilities implied by these forces meshed with an older American interest in the Caribbean, particularly in Cuba and the picket line of West Indian islands that ran down to Latin America. In an age of the clipper ship and the steady reduction of the tariff at the behest of agrarian elements, these developments drew taut the strand of national mercantile expansionist ambition that seemingly had lain slack while the territorial lines of American continentalism were cast westward across North America. This added tension suggested to some that the United States was linked to the historic expansionism of Europe westward to Asia, that it was the fulfillment of the long search for a "passage to India," and that a great

² Norman Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific* (New York, 1955), 3, 218; Robert G. Cleland, "Asiatic Trade and American Occupation of the Pacific Coast," *Annual Report, American Historical Association*, 1914 (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1916), I, 283, *passim*.

³ Eldon Griffin, *Clippers and Consuls* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1938), 9-12 and Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York, 1922), 175-76, 178.

⁴ Harold Whitman Bradley, "Hawaii and the American Penetration of the Northeastern Pacific 1800-1845," *Pacific Historical Review*, XII (Sept. 1943), 286-87.

⁵ Allan B. Cole, "The Ringgold-Rodgers-Brooke Expedition to Japan and the North Pacific, 1853-1859," *ibid.*, XVI (May 1947), 152 ff.

⁶ John Haskell Kemble, "The Panama Route to the Pacific Coast, 1848-1869," *ibid.*, VII (Feb. 1938), 1 ff.

mercantile empire could be developed on the basis of Asian commerce.⁷

Historians have been prone to examine American expansionism in terms of conflicting mercantile and agrarian interests.⁸ They have overlooked the presence of a unifying view of American world geographical centralism that was grounded in a "geopolitical" interpretation of American continentalism and its place in the history of Europe's expansion to Asia. What emerged was a combination of two deterministic patterns of thought reflected in the outlook of such men as William Gilpin, Asa Whitney, Matthew Fontaine Maury, and Perry McDonough Collins. These men shaped an expectation of commercial empire as an end in itself as well as a means of developing the internal continental empire. Today, after the bitter experiences of its practice in the 1930's, geopolitics deservedly has an unsavory reputation. Although it did not exist in any organized form or established theory before the Civil War, it was, nevertheless, a conceptual instrument whose economic implications projected American continentalism onto the world scene and anticipated in some respects its greater use by the expansionists of 1898.

William Gilpin, "America's first Geopolitician,"⁹ declared that the unifying geographical features of the North American continent, particularly the Mississippi Valley, contrasted favorably with Europe and Asia. A summary of his views in the period 1846-1849 reveals his belief that the physical environment of America promised the growth of an area equal in population and resources to that of the entire world. A Jeffersonian democrat and a devotee of the writings of Alexander von Humboldt, he believed in the inevitable westward march of an agrarian civilization to the Pacific Ocean. He also associated westward expansion with American commerce and whaling enterprise already established there. During the Oregon crisis in 1846, Gilpin advised congressmen, as he may have suggested to President James Polk,

⁷ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 3-51. Smith's work has been very helpful in this study.

⁸ In his book *The Idea of National Interest* (New York, 1934), 50, Beard states: "For the sake of convenience in tracing the application of the national interest conception in the external relations of the United States, those relations may be divided into territorial and commercial, although in practice the two are seldom, if ever, divorced." My point here in citing Beard is not to raise the issue of the over-all validity of the approach to the problem that he employed. His is a great work that attempted to lay out a theoretical framework for the study of American foreign policy. In this instance, I am more interested in the agreement of belief enforced by ideology and the considerations included in it rather than in the differences fostered by economic interest and their political expression. By italicizing Beard's own qualifications above I have tried to indicate my own use of them in approaching the problem. See also footnote one.

⁹ Bernard De Voto, "Geopolitics with the Dew on It," *Harper's Magazine*, CLXXXVIII (Mar. 1944), 315. De Voto's piece is brilliantly suggestive and should be read in conjunction with Smith, *Virgin Land*, 35-44. See also Maurice O. Georges, "A Suggested Revision of the Role of a Pioneer Political Scientist," *Frances Greenburg Armitage Prize Winning Essays: Armitage Competition in Oregon Pioneer History*, Reed College (2 vols., Portland, Ore., 1945-46), and James C. Malin, *The Grassland of North America* (Lawrence, Kan., 1947), 177-92.

that settlers moving into Oregon from the Mississippi Valley, the geographically favored heart of the continent, would make the mouth of the Columbia River an outlet for the export of American farm produce to Asia. Since agriculture sought through commerce an "infinite market of consumption" in the Far East, Oregon became the "maritime wing of the Mississippi Valley upon the Pacific, as New England was on the Atlantic."¹⁰ A strong bid for Asian trade, therefore, depended on the construction of a transcontinental railroad from the Mississippi to the Columbia River that would link the agricultural heart of the North American continent with the Pacific Ocean. By developing the interior, thereby gaining access to the coast, the United States might become the center of a new world traffic pattern. America's "intermediate geographical position between Asia and Europe . . . invests her with the powers and duties of arbiter between them," he wrote in 1860. "Our continent is at once a barrier which separates the other two, yet fuses and harmonizes their intercourse in all relations from which force is absent."¹¹

The Pacific railroad, in fact, was closely identified with the career of Asa Whitney, who had returned from China after a successful career as a merchant and who had campaigned from 1845 onward for the construction of a railroad from the upper portion of the Mississippi Valley to Oregon. It was Whitney's project that dominated for five years the great American debate over this vital internal transportation scheme.¹² Unless Oregon was bound to the rest of the country by a transcontinental railroad, Whitney warned, the nation would be forced to engage in a balance-of-power diplomacy in the European manner, an eventuality that he thought would destroy the continental homogeneity of America. In presenting his Pacific railway scheme, he proposed to connect Oregon with the rest of the country, open oriental trade marts to American commerce and agriculture, particularly if the railroad was tied to a Pacific Ocean shipping line, and provide an instrument for the internal development of the nation-continent that would serve as "the means, and only means, by which the vast wilderness between civilization and Oregon can be settled." Thus he exalted the continental potential

¹⁰ Gilpin to James Semple, Mar. 17, 1846, in *Report (Senate Executive Document, 29 Cong., 1 sess., V, No. 306)*, 21, 44, 23, 30; "Speech on the Pacific Railroad," Nov. 5, 1849, in William Gilpin, *The Central Gold Region: The Grain, Pastoral and Gold Regions of North America* (Philadelphia and St. Louis, 1860), 20-21; Gilpin to David R. Atchison, Jan. 23, 1846, in *Report (Senate Executive Document, 29 Cong., 1 sess., IV, No. 178)*, 4.

¹¹ De Voto, "Geopolitics," 319; Gilpin to Atchison, Jan. 23, 1846, *Report (Senate Executive Document, 29 Cong., 1 sess., IV, No. 178)*, 6, 7; Gilpin to Semple, Mar. 17, 1846, *ibid.*, V, No. 306, 25, 30; Gilpin, *Central Gold Region*, vi.

¹² Margaret L. Brown, "Asa Whitney and His Pacific Railroad Publicity Campaign," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XX (Sept. 1933), 209-24; George L. Albright, *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads 1853-1855* (Berkeley, Calif., 1921), 10-18.

of producing "the most necessary and important products of the earth—bread stuffs and meat," and stressed the value of an international "commerce of reciprocity—an exchange of commodities." The railroad, he insisted, would "revolutionize the entire commerce of the world; placing us directly in the centre of all . . . , all must be tributary to us, and, in a moral point of view, it will be the means of civilizing and Christianizing all mankind."¹³

Matthew Fontaine Maury, hydrographer of the United States Navy and adviser on railroad and international commercial problems to southern businessmen and politicians, was also interested in the relationship of the Pacific railroad issue to the old dream of the "passage to India."¹⁴ But he formulated a wider geopolitical conception of the North American continent by linking it with Latin America as well as with Asia. He agreed that a Pacific railroad was needed to develop the continental interior as a means of raising land values, encouraging settlement of the western lands, and providing for the continental defense of the nation. He, too, shared the conviction of the importance of the Asian trade and, faithful to the interests of the South, he pressed for the construction of a transcontinental railroad from Memphis to Monterey.¹⁵

Maury, however, was influenced by an old geographical-historical idea that river valley civilizations were the most enduring and fruitful forms of society. In his view, the basins of the Mississippi and the Amazon Rivers were united in a vast continental-maritime complex that depended upon American supremacy of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, the "American Mediterranean" as he called it. Aware of the potential of an age of steam, he believed that conventional ideas of geographical relationships had to change. Maury urged Americans to think of ocean navigation around the globe in terms of great circle travel rather than of routes laid out on the Mercator projection. This placed his Memphis-Monterey transcontinental railroad project that was to service the Mississippi Valley close to the great

¹³ Cole, "Ringgold-Rodgers-Brooke," 152; *Memorial of Asa Whitney*, Feb. 24, 1846 (*Senate Executive Document*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., IV, No. 161), 8-9, I, 6, 2, 5.

¹⁴ Cole, "Ringgold-Rodgers-Brooke," 153; Smith, *Virgin Land*, 153-54; Henry F. Graff, *Bluejackets with Perry in Japan* (New York, 1952), 45; Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), 321, for mention of Maury's religiosity. See R. S. Cotterill, "Memphis Railroad Convention, 1849," *Tennessee Magazine of History*, IV (June 1918), 83 ff., for an account of the South's view of the Pacific railroad issue. Maury was also elected a vice-president of the National Railroad Convention that met in St. Louis before the opening of the Memphis convention. He represented the Board of Directors of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. *Proceedings of the National Railroad Convention which Assembled in the City of St. Louis on the Fifteenth of October, 1849* (St. Louis, 1850).

¹⁵ Maury to John C. Calhoun, Mar. 29, 1848, in J. D. B. De Bow, ed., *The Industrial Resources, etc., of the Southern and Western States* . . . (3 vols., New Orleans, 1852-53), I, 257, 259; Maury to T. Butler King, Jan. 10, 1847, in *Steam Communication with China, and the Sandwich Islands* (*House of Representatives Reports of Committees*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., III, No. 596), 23 ff.

circle running from Central America to Shanghai at a point off the coast of California. Cut a canal through the Isthmus of Panama that would link the Pacific Ocean with the "American Mediterranean" and the shortened route to Asia would force European commerce to use a passageway that Maury insisted should never be under the control of a foreign power since it violated traditional American policy to allow foreign interference in the Western Hemisphere. "I regard the Pacific railroad and a commercial thoroughfare across the Isthmus as links in the same chain, parts of the great whole which...is to effect a revolution in the course of trade...Those two works...are not only necessary fully to develop the immense resources of the Mississippi valley...but...their completion would place the United States on the summit level of commerce...." In effect, Maury extended the line of American continental interest south from the Mississippi in order to command the same degree of geographic centralism that had marked the ideas of Gilpin and Whitney. The canal, taken in conjunction with the Pacific railroad, demonstrated his ambition for the United States to overcome the "barrier that separates us from the markets of six hundred millions of people—three-fourths of the population of the earth. Break it down...and this country is placed midway between Europe and Asia; this sea [Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean] becomes the centre of the world and the focus of the world's commerce."¹⁶

This doctrine of geopolitical centralism was reflected in the activity of Perry McDonough Collins, whose career had been shaped by the westward movement, experience with steamship operations on the Mississippi, and the California gold rush. Living on the West Coast in the 1850's, he not only absorbed the impact of the nation's new geographical position on the Pacific but also read about Russia's explorations of the northern Pacific Ocean and its expansion into eastern Siberia. Quickly he "fixed upon the river Amoor in Eastern Siberia as the destined channel by which American commercial enterprise was to penetrate the obscure depths of Northern Asia."¹⁷

¹⁶ Maury to Calhoun, Mar. 29, 1848, De Bow, *Industrial Resources*, 365, 373, 369, 370; Maury to King, Jan. 10, 1847, *Steam Communication* (Report, House of Representatives, 30 Cong., 1 sess., III, No. 596), 20, 23; William L. Herndon and Lardner Gibbon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon* (Senate Executive Document, 32 Cong., 2 sess., VI, No. 36), 190, 191, 193, testifying to Maury's influence in urging this expedition and in coloring the conclusions regarding the linkage of the Amazon and the Mississippi Valleys; T. Butler King, Jan. 16, 1849, *Railroad Across the Isthmus of Panama* (House of Representatives Reports of Committees, 30 Cong., 2 sess., I, No. 26), 2-3, citing Maury on the importance of an isthmian railroad to link the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean; F. P. Stanton, *Railroad to the Pacific* (House of Representatives Reports of Committees, 31 Cong., 1 sess., III, No. 439), 32, 14, 27.

¹⁷ I have drawn upon my article "The Collins Overland Line and American Continentalism" in the *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVIII (Aug. 1959), 237-53. The quotation is in Perry McDonough Collins, *A Voyage Down the Amoor* (New York, 1860), 1. A valuable contribution

Supported by President Franklin Pierce and Secretary of State William Marcy, Collins traveled throughout Siberia in 1856 and saw there elements of the American West. He felt himself to be a "pioneer in these wilds in the shape of a live Yankee," encountering many of the "difficulties that all western men who have blazed the first trail in a new country know by experience." Russian expansion in this region he interpreted as similar in objective and spirit to that of American continental expansion. Russia, he predicted, would move into Manchuria just as the United States had gone into Louisiana. The Amur River in eastern Siberia he likened to the Mississippi in North America. In his mind the spirit of the American frontier had international and historical significance: the emergence of the United States in North America was the first vital step in linking Europe and Asia. "The problem of a North Western passage to India . . . , which has occupied the great minds of Europe for some centuries, has been solved by the continuous and onward march of American civilization to the West . . . the commerce of the world will find its path across this continent. . . ."¹⁸

Collins inspired Western Union's project for the construction of an international overland telegraph system through British Columbia, Alaska, and Siberia in 1865 which was to be linked with Russia's own network to Europe. Basic to the whole scheme was the anticipation that the transcontinental telegraph line to the Pacific built by Western Union in 1860-1861 would be in the center of the vast enterprise. "Consequently," ran one of the company's circulars, "when the extension line of this company shall be completed the commerce of the whole of Europe, Asia, and North America, radiating from their great commercial centers will be tributary to it."¹⁹

The outlook formulated by these various opinions suggests the existence of two related American worlds. The first was the nation-continent created through the interaction of foreign policy and territorial expansion that resulted in the acquisition of contiguous territory in North America. In

to knowledge of Collins' career and activities has been made by Vilhjalmur Stefansson in his book *Northwest to Fortune* (New York, 1958), 243-53.

¹⁸ Perry McDonough Collins, Feb. 28, 1857, *Extract from Notes* (House of Representatives Executive Document, 35 Cong., 1 sess., XII, No. 98), 50; Collins to Marcy, Jan. 31, 1857, *ibid.*, 16-17, 19-20; Perry McDonough Collins, "Overland Telegraphic via Behring Strait and Across Asiatic Russia to Europe," in Western Union, *Statement of the Origin, Organization and Progress of the Russian-American Western Union Extension, Collins Overland Line* (Rochester, N. Y., 1866), 164.

¹⁹ Western Union, *Statement of the Collins Overland Line*, 15. The company also hoped to run extensions from Russia's trunk system to China and Japan. This explains the grandiose vision of telegraphic supremacy in Asia. In addition, Collins began negotiations with Latin American governments to unite their lines with the American trunk system. In this sense, one should read "Western Hemisphere" for "North America" in the passage quoted in the company's prospectus.

turn, it projected the concept of the second American world, the continental domain that was fated to extend its influence over the entire world through the expansion of commerce and control of international communications. The relations of both worlds were reciprocal. All this, however, depended upon realizing the economic implications of the central position conferred upon the United States through its expansion in North America and the significance of this event in the general expansionist history of the European world.

By the middle of the 1850's, aspects of this informal system of geopolitical thought had made its impression upon public discussion, affecting debates over internal communication and transportation as well as foreign policy.²⁰ It is true, however, that the notion of an American "empire" based on the idea of the United States as the great land bridge to Asia had given way to the growing tension of the sectional debates over federal policy dealing with the development of the continental interior.²¹ Nevertheless, the fund of ideas that had projected American continentalism onto the world scene were restated and maintained by William Henry Seward, an expansionist, a worshipper of the continental tradition established and exemplified earlier by John Quincy Adams, and a man whose outlook²² matched the geopolitical determinism exhibited by Gilpin, Whitney, Maury, and Collins.

Ten years before Seward became Secretary of State, he advocated the construction of a Pacific railroad and telegraph in the debates over the admission of California to the Union. Americans who understood the benign future of the American continent, Seward argued, had to prevent a division between the North and the South in order to overcome the more portentous split between East and West caused by the expansion of the United States. Centralized political unity, the economic welfare of the continental

²⁰ The standard work dealing with this phase is Robert R. Russel, *Improvement of Communication with the Pacific Coast as an Issue in American Politics, 1783-1864* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1948), 18-19, who asserts that from the 1850's onward the emphasis shifted to discussion of internal affairs and development. Smith, *Virgin Land*, 282, note 28; James C. Malin, "The Nebraska Question: A Ten Year Record, 1844-1855," *Nebraska History*, XXXV (Mar. 1954), 14, for an interesting discussion of the global perspective of Stephen Douglas; Richard W. Van Alstyne, "Anglo-American Relations, 1853-1857," *American Historical Review*, XLII (Apr. 1937), 493, for an incisive critique by John F. Crampton of American ambition in a letter to Lord Clarendon; James G. Swan, *The Northwest Coast* (New York, 1857), 403, linking affairs in China and Russia with the Washington territory, and his article "Explorations of the Amoor River: And Its Importance on the Future Great Inter-Oceanic Trade Across the American Continent," *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XXXIX (Aug. 1858), 176-82.

²¹ Smith, *Virgin Land*, 29.

²² "Neither politicians nor statesmen control events. They can moderate them and accommodate their ambitions to them, but they can do no more." Seward to Charles Francis Adams, Nov. 4, 1862, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1862), 231; Seward to Thurlow Weed, Apr. 4, 1847, Thurlow Weed Papers, University of Rochester, for a sample of Seward's veneration of John Quincy Adams.

empire, and mastery of the seas that bounded the great land mass between two worlds—these were required if the United States was to take effective advantage of its geographical position to direct commerce with Europe and “intercept” trade with the Far East. He charged the South with obstruction of the American primacy on the world stage that was promised by its domestic development. “This nation is a globe,” he cried, “still accumulating upon accumulation, not a dissolving sphere.”²³ “Even the discovery of this continent [North America] and its islands, and the organization of society and government upon them,” Seward stated, “grand and important as these events have been were but conditional, preliminary, and ancillary” to the great goal of European expansion for four hundred years, the attainment of the seat of all civilization—Asia.²⁴ The revolts of 1848 and the strain of maintaining the “crazy balance of power” forecast the destruction of Europe, and it fell to the United States to seize the torch and light the way. Because the United States was writ large on the sphere of world geography and history, it had the obligation to extend by means of its institutions the “civilization of the world westward . . . across the continent of America,” across the Pacific to Asia, on through Europe until it reached “the other side, the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.”²⁵

This rhetoric was not separated from the realities that Seward encountered as Secretary of State. The continent under American dominion, he reported, “like every other structure of large proportions,” required “outward buttresses” that were strategically favorable to the United States. Thus the policy of attempting to buy naval installations in the Caribbean after the Civil War reflected his conviction at the outbreak of the conflict that Spanish intrusion in the region partially justified the launching of a propaganda counterattack throughout Latin America as well as war against Spain. In 1864, he insisted that commerce and communication in North America were centralized in the United States and had to be extended as a means of uniting domestic and foreign commerce and encouraging the development of American “agricultural, forest, mineral, and marine resources.” It was Seward who wrote the vital provisions of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 with China that provided for the importation of Chinese coolies to work on the transcontinental railroad and western mining undertakings. He also contributed to the continental basis of the argument used by Senator Charles Sumner, who supported the purchase of Alaska by pointing out that the new

²³ *The Works of William H. Seward*, ed. George E. Baker (5 vols., New York, 1853–84), I, 91.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 247–49.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 124; *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., 251 (Jan. 5, 1861).

territory rounded off the continental domain and permitted contact with Far Eastern markets by the shortest possible sea route from the West Coast. Later Seward made his meaning more clear to Canadians when he implied that the Alaskan purchase was a portent of "commercial and political forces" that made "permanent political separation of British Columbia from Alaska and the Washington territory impossible."²⁶ And, it was Seward's system of roughhewn continental geopolitics and beliefs cut out of the American grain that gives depth to the vigor with which he pursued American interests in the Far East. Much of his ambitious program, however, was not fulfilled because, as he said, "no new national policy deliberately undertaken upon considerations of future advantages ever finds universal favor when first announced."²⁷ But Alfred Thayer Mahan countered this argument when he remarked in 1902 that "all history is the aggressive advance of the future upon the past, the field of collision being the present."²⁸

Mahan might well have added, however, that it was his geopolitics as well as that of Brooks Adams that defined the "field of collision." For the serious domestic crisis in the United States occurring in the 1890's within the context of a global economy and an international transportation revolution forecast a pessimistic future. Each, in his own way, attempted to swamp it with a conception of the past that he carried with him. Both Mahan's quest for a new mercantilism and Adams' propaganda for a new empire illustrate a retreat into history for a model that might avert disaster. One theme emerged—the extension of the nation's economic power from the line of the West Indies, Panama, and Hawaii to Asia. Here, the expansionist projection of the American continental experience that was developed in the pre-Civil War period acquired some relevance in the outlook of Brooks Adams. Viewing the expansion of Europe and of the United States as complementary developments, he turned to geopolitics to explain the nature of the problem.²⁹

The Germans and the Russians appeared ready to march to the East. This move would reverse the historical westward trend of the exchanges that

²⁶ Charles C. Tansill, *The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798–1863* (Baltimore, Md., 1938), 227; Frederick W. Seward, comp., *William Henry Seward: An Autobiography* (3 vols., New York, 1891), II, 535; Seward to Chandler, May 14, 1864, Western Union, *Statement of the Collins Overland Line*, 51; Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, 530; James Alton James, *The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America and the Purchase of Alaska* (Evanston and Chicago, 1942), 19, 35, 27; for Sumner's argument advocating the purchase, see *Charles Sumner, His Complete Works*, ed. George F. Hoar (20 vols., Boston, 1900), XV, 36 ff.; Baker, *Seward*, V, 574.

²⁷ Seward to Yeaman, Jan. 29, 1868, in Seward Papers.

²⁸ Alfred Thayer Mahan, "Subordination in Historical Treatment," in *Naval Administration and Warfare* (Boston, 1908), 269.

²⁹ I have drawn upon my article "Brooks Adams and the Ambivalence of American Foreign Policy," *World Affairs Quarterly*, XXX (Apr. 1959), 3–18.

formed the basis of world power. Obsessed by the belief that control over Asia and its resources was the issue between the Russo-German bloc and what he believed to be a weakened England, Adams called for an Anglo-American rapprochement. This would allow the geographical center of the exchanges to "cross the Atlantic and aggrandize America." The result? "Probably," Adams suggested, "human society would then be absolutely dominated by a vast combination of peoples whose right wing would rest upon the British Isles, whose left would overhang the middle province of China, whose centre would approach the Pacific, and who encompass the Indian Ocean as though it were a lake, much as the Romans encompassed the Mediterranean."³⁰ Specifically, Adams, Mahan, and the imperial expansionists who clustered around Theodore Roosevelt urged upon the United States the "large policy of 1898," which revived the Caribbean-Panama-Pacific Ocean relationship that had been sketched out in the 1840's and 1850's and publicized by Seward.³¹ But by 1909, the outer edges of this grandiose empire were frayed by abrasive realities in Asia. The failure of the open door in China, the knowledge that the Philippines could not be defended, the growing tension with Japan over Manchuria—all this was complicated by the existence of the ideological *Realpolitik* of Theodore Roosevelt, who claimed American manipulative power over affairs in Asia but who was cautious enough to realize that he did not have it. Roosevelt's refusal to carry out completely Adams' program drove Adams back to examine his own nationalist assumptions in a biography of his grandfather that he never completed.³²

At this point in his quest, the traditional elements of American continentalism received a full statement—geographical determinism, political and social separation from Europe, and independent action in foreign affairs. Nevertheless, Adams, like Mahan, continued to interpret the history of American continentalism as an expression of eighteenth-century mercantilist imperialism. Just as Asia appeared in his own time to be the principal objective that would guarantee survival through expansion, so North America had appeared to the European powers. "Men believed that he who won

³⁰ Brooks Adams, *America's Economic Supremacy* (New York, 1900), 196, 13, 190, 12, 25.

³¹ Julius Pratt, "The Large Policy of 1898," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX (Aug. 1932), 233, 229–30, for Albert Shaw's agreement with Bryan on this as well as the statement by Senator William E. Chandler; Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Interest of America in Sea Power* (Boston, 1897), 260, and *The Problem of Asia* (Boston, 1900), 7–9, for his remarks on the preparation for imperialist expansion that had occurred earlier in American history on the basis on this geographical outlook.

³² Arthur Beringause, *Brooks Adams* (New York, 1955), 304 ff.; Brooks Adams, "Unpublished Biography of John Quincy Adams" in the Massachusetts Historical Society (microfilm copy by courtesy of Mr. Lyman Butterfield and the Massachusetts Historical Society).

America might aspire to that universal empire which had been an ideal since the dawn of civilization."³³ Franklin, Washington, and John Quincy Adams had understood the need for a consolidated, unified, and expansionist state strong enough to establish itself in North America. In 1823, the Monroe Doctrine confirmed what the American Revolution had already demonstrated: the leadership of the westward march of the exchanges would pass from a divided Europe to a unified America. "It was the first impressive manifestation of that momentous social movement which has recently culminated in the migration of the centre of the equilibrium of human society across the Atlantic."³⁴ Here the nationalist met the imperialist when the expansionist projection of continentalism made clear that America, the prize of empire in the eighteenth century, had to become an empire in the twentieth century.

Contemporary students of the United States foreign policy that developed at the turn of the century are confronted with a problem of perspective. From the standpoint of the expansionist projection of American continentalism revealed in the pre-Civil War era, the imperialism of McKinley and Roosevelt was not a new departure in American history. It was not an "aberration" of national behavior which has been loosely defined as the emergence of the United States to world power. The geopolitical suggestions of Mahan and Brooks Adams helped American statesmen to install the United States as such a power. It was also a startling demonstration of the adjustment of the new ideological justifications of the 1890's to an older nationalistic expansionist base formulated by men of an earlier generation.³⁵ Gilpin, Whitney, Maury, and Collins had sensed the meaning of the new technology, its effect upon geographical relationships, and the interrelations between aspects of the economic system at home, and these men were captured by a desire to assume the leadership of an entire Western civilization in order to make a lasting impression upon Asia.

Historians who are sensitive to the relationship of foreign and domestic affairs as well as to the play of ideas upon foreign policy might do well to reexamine and explore the concept of American continentalism as an ideology of overseas expansion. Conventionally employed to explain the separatist and isolationist quality of the American outlook on world affairs

³³ Adams, "Unpublished Biography of John Quincy Adams," 130.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 299.

³⁵ Julius Pratt, "The Ideology of American Expansion," in *Essays in Honor of William E. Dodd*, ed. Avery Craven (Chicago, 1935), 347, for a comment that stresses manifest destiny rather than American continentalism as employed in this essay. See also the judgment of Seward's biographer regarding the continuity of the expansionist impulse in Frederic Bancroft, "Seward's Ideas of Territorial Expansion," *North American Review*, CLXVII (July 1898), 79 ff.

in the nineteenth century, American continentalism also possessed a geopolitical character—natively derived in large measure—that was contrary to its own spirit. The only virtue of geopolitics is that it draws attention to the facts of political geography; its greatest vice is that it lends itself to almost mystical judgments of national purpose in international affairs. Seemingly dealing with reality, it becomes a refuge for unclear and unfulfilled aspirations. Geographers long ago learned this bitter lesson. Historians of American foreign policy might profit by investigating further the active presence in nineteenth-century America of this aspect of thought, not as a justification for foreign policy but as an important stimulus of nationalist expansionism.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

THE ORIGIN OF CIVILIZED SOCIETIES. By *Rushton Coulborn*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 200. \$4.00.)

THIS most interesting little book (186 pages) theorizes that the origin of all civilized societies both in the New World and the Old is to be explained by the desiccation of certain areas following the Ice Age. The development of agriculture is the direct result of this desiccation as is the formation of new religions. The author is a historian and the historical viewpoint is evident throughout the work. Professor Coulborn postulates that there are seven primary societies, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Indian, Cretan, Chinese, Middle American, and Andean. His discussions also are based upon seven so-called secondary societies, Hebrew, Greco-Roman, Iranian, Byzantine, Western (European), Islamic, and Russian. Certainly not all anthropologists would agree with the author on his choice of primary or secondary societies or even on the premise that civilizations can be so divided.

Coulborn's primary concept that agriculture is "determined by desiccation" is not a new one. The early Greeks thought that peoples driven in from the deserts of North Africa began agriculture in Egypt. German anthropologists especially have belabored this theme in their climatic arguments. Coulborn carries the idea of determinism by desiccation further than most in that he argues the origin of all civilizations as well as that of all great religions from this trend of events. With a masterful handling of source material the author has drawn conclusions regarding the formation of societies in the Old World. His argument concerning the formation of new religions as "fear during the migrations" is a concept of determinism.

A number of anthropologists would take issue, however, when Coulborn applies this determinism to New World agriculture. The author's picture of refugees moving south through Central America, fleeing the desiccation at the end of the Ice Age, is not convincing and is not supported by archaeological evidence. Few anthropologists hold that New World agriculture is of Old World origin. Coulborn seeks to derive the root agriculture of Venezuela and Colombia from an African origin by means of some primitives fleeing in canoes across ocean currents to land on New World shores. This belies everything that we know of New World agriculture both as to its origin and the varieties of plants involved. The author states that there is no serious doubt that grain agriculture in the New World began in Central America. There is, of course, considerable doubt as to the

origin of maize in Central America. In short, the determinism of desiccation seems to fall down when these arguments are applied to the New World civilizations.

In spite of the anthropological criticisms which might be leveled at the fundamental concepts of Coulborn's theory, he develops his arguments with consummate skill in a most interesting discourse. There is a well-tabulated index to the work and bibliographic items are contained in very complete footnotes.

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THE AGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1760-1800. THE CHALLENGE. By R. R. Palmer. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 534. \$7.50.)

OCCASIONALLY a historical work appears which, by synthesis of much previous specialized work and by intelligent reflection upon the whole, makes events of the past click into a new pattern and assume fresh meaning. Professor Palmer's book is such a work. His thesis is that not only can the American and French Revolutions be seen as interrelated parts of one great democratic revolution that happened in Western civilization during the last four decades of the eighteenth century, but also that both are special manifestations of what "was shared also at the same time by various people and movements in other countries, notably in England, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, but also in Germany, Hungary, and Poland, and by scattered individuals in places like Spain and Russia."

The great value of Palmer's book, which is to have a sequel carrying the analysis from 1791 to 1800, is that he examines in detail the common features (but also the characteristic variations) of this large international movement. He depicts it as primarily a revolt against aristocracy, whose power was entrenched in a multitude of constituted bodies—estates, diets, councils, parliaments, and established churches. By 1774 these bodies were yielding before contrary pressures: on one side, from enlightened monarchy, as in France, Sweden, or Austria; on the other, from burgher or democratic movements, as in Geneva or America. Between 1774 and 1789 (that is, between the beginning of the American and the beginning of the French Revolutions), there took place an "aristocratic resurgence." The British and Irish parliaments escaped even moderate reform, the Dutch Patriots were suppressed, the Genevese democrats were driven out, the Maupeou program collapsed in France, the Belgian and Hungarian estates revolted, the Russian nobility won a charter from Catherine II, and the Polish nobles built a gentry republic. It was with these events—not later, as a reaction against the French Revolution—that "a philosophy of what was to be called conservatism began to appear."

These events had native causes and reflected internal conditions in each

country. Yet they form a certain pattern, a pattern of social conflict, of frustrated democratic movements. Before the French Revolution ever began, there were all the ingredients of a broader revolt against privilege and inequality: that insurgent impulse which Burke identified when he wrote of "the Revolution *in* France," and not of "the French Revolution" as an isolated outbreak. This insurgence was not yet, however, fully "democratic," for, in the new radicalism it engendered, "the people" did not include all the people. The masses remained mainly apathetic or even conservative. No one as yet expected to create a new system of government, and even the Americans were still only moving in that direction. The urge to comprehend the whole community as a basis for government, and to erect on this basis new forms of state, came only after 1789.

In the course of the careful analysis of events with which he substantiates this thesis, Palmer gets in several well-aimed blows at interpretations of the American and French Revolutions which would diminish the truly revolutionary character of the first or exaggerate the violence of the second. It will come as a surprise to many American readers of Mr. Russell Kirk to learn that there were "24 émigrés per thousand of population in the American Revolution, and only 5 émigrés per thousand of population in the French Revolution," and that "revolutionary France, ten times as large as revolutionary America, confiscated only twelve times as much property from its émigrés." Measured in terms of human refugees and their personal deprivations, the Loyalists differed from the French *émigrés* only in being a proportionately larger section of the population, and in never returning home.

This is a stimulating, highly intelligent historical study, written with literary skill and verve. It resists the temptation, inherent in such a thesis, to neglect or minimize national diversities, and the careful qualifications make the broad thesis all the more persuasive. If the sequel, dealing with the interplay of forces and ideas occasioned by the wars after 1791, maintains the level of this first volume, it will rank as a major work of historical synthesis and interpretation.

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DAVID THOMSON

A HISTORY OF PUBLIC HEALTH. By *George Rosen*. Foreword by *Félix Martí-Ibáñez*. [MD Monographs on Medical History, Number 1.] (New York: MD Publications. 1958. Pp. 551. \$5.75.)

STUDIES have long been available in this field for certain European countries. But Dr. Rosen's book is the first to cover satisfactorily the entire history of Western public health from the Greek period to the present. Treatment of the classical and medieval epochs is brief but provides background. Within a sequence that is primarily chronological, each century after the fifteenth is presented in greater detail than the preceding one—an arrangement justified by the increasing scope of public health activities. The major themes are disease conditions, preventive

theory and practice, and vital statistics, each of which is interpreted in relation to the others. The style is clear throughout. A distinctive feature of the work is the attention given developments in Western Europe as well as in Great Britain and the United States, in which respect the author transcends the limitations of most British and American publications in this area.

Rosen's synthesis includes "medical care" as a factor influencing public health. He apparently assumes, as do most of us, that it has always been desirable to make medical services available to the people. For this reason, perhaps, he does not raise such questions as whether there were times when medical practice did more harm than good, or whether the success of recent practice may have been qualified by the survival of many in a state of chronic ill health.

The narrative makes clear the manner in which public health reflected social and economic circumstances. Thus, the Industrial Revolution and urbanization loom large in the later chapters. The interplay of these circumstances with scientific factors is also brought out, as in an effective analysis of the impact of statistical mathematics and, again, of that of bacteriology after 1875. On the whole, the social and technical elements are well balanced, but at several points additional scientific themes might have been introduced. As in nearly all writing on the subject, for example, there is little discussion of the development of sanitary engineering; nor is there comment on the possibly inhibitory influences exerted on health measures by such theories of disease causation as medical climatology in the eighteenth century and of concepts of heredity during the nineteenth. In one instance an apparently scientific factor is itself traced to social origins; that is, the anticontagionism of the 1800's is ascribed—at least indirectly—to political liberalism. There is some evidence to support this interesting thesis but confirmation would require a more thorough analysis than is yet available.

Although opinions on some of these matters might differ, it should be emphasized that Rosen's general treatment is remarkably thorough and it is comprehensive in scope. His book provides a basic text which should be of value to historians as well as to public health personnel. Both groups will find the extensive bibliography useful, although the lack of citations makes it difficult at times to determine the sources for particular data or viewpoints. Also useful for those in the health field are the appended lists of pertinent schools, societies, and journals.

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SOCIAL MOBILITY IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. By *Seymour Martin Lipset* and *Reinhard Bendix*. [Publication of the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. xxi, 309. \$5.00.)

HISTORIANS have not hitherto accorded the subject of social mobility the attention it deserves. Either they have neglected it entirely or they have passed it by

with general impressionistic references. Certainly the data for measuring the phenomenon are difficult to handle. Yet the problems involved occupy so central a position in modern society that they cannot be overlooked, particularly since most sociologists who have treated them have not been interested in the time dimension.

It is a great merit of the present volume to have begun the task of bridging the gulf between the two disciplines. Its authors are competent sociologists. Yet they make an effort, within the limits of the material available to them, to see the problem in historical terms. And they earn no small degree of gratitude for having found it possible to present their conclusions in clear and lucid English.

The work is based partly upon primary research; but its major service is to draw together in an incisive comparative analysis the results of scattered investigations over the past quarter of a century in many parts of the world. The results are stimulating and enlightening.

The most challenging section of the book is that which casts doubt upon the generally accepted assumption that there have been marked differences in the rate of social mobility in the United States as compared with various other modern countries. A number of earlier studies raised some questions about this assumption; here all the relevant data are brought together in usable form. The authors conclude that it was not notably easier to rise in America than elsewhere. Everywhere industrialization created the conditions for mobility, entirely apart from the influence of political institutions or official ideology.

To have the problem posed in this form is helpful indeed. But the conclusion is not altogether convincing. Since other kinds of data show that the social order of the United States was far looser and far more tolerant of mobility than elsewhere, we are driven to wonder whether the statistics here mobilized actually measure social mobility or something else. In any case, the discrepancy is important and worth serious attention. The historians of the United States who have often taken the uniqueness of American society for granted might well be challenged to more rigorous definitions by the implications of this volume.

Harvard University

OSCAR HANDLIN

POLITICAL THEORY: THE FOUNDATIONS OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Arnold Brecht*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 603. \$12.00.)

In this remarkably comprehensive survey of contemporary political and legal theory and philosophy, Arnold Brecht, emeritus professor of political science at the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research, seeks to lay the foundations and to delineate some key positions of a political theory of ambitious scientific rigor and scope. The work is divided into four parts: "systematic, genetic, polemic, and metaphysic." The appendix outlines a second volume of four addi-

tional parts, dealing with rival forms of government, power, rights, goals and techniques, government organization, and finally sovereignty and international organization. It is greatly to be hoped that the author may soon be able to complete this second and vitally related part of his work.

Brecht is fired by an abiding faith in the possibility of scientific method; indeed, this term is capitalized throughout, as is another key term in Brecht's approach, "value relativism." He is firmly attached to both notions, which he rightly considers intimately related to each other. It is a necessary consequence of his belief in scientific method that his treatment should be greatly concerned with methodological questions. His book is as much a study of methodology as of theory proper, and in this respect it resembles two recent important French works, one by Duverger and the other by Meynurd. But neither of these French studies possess the erudition or the philosophical depth of Brecht's magistral treatise.

There has been of late an increasing interest in comprehensive theoretical reassessments of politics. Charles Merriam's *Systematic Politics* (1945) followed G. E. G. Catlin's *A Study of the Principles of Politics* (1930). More recent publications include: Harold D. Lasswell, in cooperation with Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society* (1953); David Easton, *The Political System* (1953); Karl Loewenstein, *Political Power and the Governmental Process* (1958). None of these works, however, is so scrupulously careful in considering other writers in the field, so deeply concerned with making sure that what he says is "intersubjectively transmissible knowledge" (to use one of the more pedantic expressions that such care seems to call for), or so thorough in documenting every assertion. In these respects, but more especially in the last one, this work should be rather pleasing to historians, especially to historians of recent intellectual and social history. It also may be considered a model work in the history of science. These merits are enhanced by a very orderly treatment, well organized and lucid, with a summary and conclusions attached to each chapter, and a broad review of results at the end of the volume. The masterly twelve concluding pages give anyone who knows the field a very adequate notion of the author's views. Brecht does not have very much to say on history as such, however, and his ideas on the relation of history to political science are much influenced by the notion that "every historical situation is unique." Students of comparative history may well put a big question mark; the recent noteworthy study on feudalism by Coulborn and associates tells a different tale, as does the promising work of Miss Thrupp and others.

There might also be argument over Brecht's concept of scientific work, preoccupied as he is with the need for excluding value judgments from all scientific study. But this issue is too complex to more than raise it here. All in all, Brecht's volume is an enduring achievement to which students in all the social sciences and history will turn for many years to come.

Harvard University

CARL J. FRIEDRICH

WARTIME ORIGINS OF THE EAST-WEST DILEMMA OVER GERMANY. By *John L. Snell*. (New Orleans: Hauser Press. c. 1959. Pp. 268. \$7.00.)

IN spite of the vast literature on the military and diplomatic history of World War II already published, Mr. John L. Snell's little volume represents the first systematic study entirely devoted to the wartime Allied planning for the occupation of defeated Nazi Germany. The present dilemma over Germany, so the author contends, must be traced to its wartime origins. Here the reader will find the whole complicated and tortured story from the Atlantic Charter, the President's Cabinet Committee on Germany of 1944, the Morgenthau plan, the interim directive of September 22, 1944, the frustrating negotiations in the European Advisory Commission, the President's "retreat from vengeance," down to the conferences of Yalta and Potsdam in 1945. A final chapter on the "Berlin Dilemma" is designed to bring the story up to date. Relatively little is known of British and still less of Russian planning, hence discussions in Washington and in the international conferences occupy the center of the stage. Since the whole account has been compressed to a scant 250 pages, the critical reader will scarcely expect exhaustive examination of all major problems or final detail. He will do justice to the author if he regards this study as a first challenging but tentative appraisal, written with a full knowledge of the limitations that the available materials have imposed on the author. Snell has made the most of these available materials and the acuteness of his document analysis leaves little to be desired. Merely to have collected and mastered the voluminous literature already published is in itself no mean achievement. Within these terms and in spite of occasional lapses Snell has accomplished his purpose with credit. His account is clearly and pungently written and his judgment on decisive issues is usually reliable.

Space limitations prevent this reviewer from referring to more than two of a number of statements made by Snell which cannot be permitted to remain unchallenged. Strictly speaking, it is incorrect to say that "during four months after October, 1944, the U. S. representatives in the European Advisory Commission were left without a policy." Washington had indeed refused Mr. Winant's request to approve his detailed occupation policy draft directives. There is documentary evidence to the effect that Winant, who was in Washington early in November 1944, had been duly informed of this decision and that he had been told that henceforth the interim directive of September 22, 1944 (J.C.S. 1067), was to remain his sole policy guidance for negotiation. The fact that J.C.S. 1067 was anathema to Winant did not prevent it from being official policy. Again, it will not do to sum up the protracted reparations discussions at Yalta with the curt remark, "Once again the policy of postponement had triumphed," without so much as a single reference to the Yalta reparations protocol which sanctioned the principle of reparations from capital plant removals, from current production, and from the use of German labor. Despite the Reparations Commission's

failure to agree on any of these points, this protocol was the root of all the later trouble. Snell does not seem to be aware of the fact that there were two Potsdam reparations agreements, both equally valid, the one the reparations protocol which states the Anglo-American position, the other the Potsdam *communiqué* which quotes the identical protocol but with a preamble containing the clause, "In accordance with the Crimea decision." These Potsdam agreements remained silent on the subject of reparations from current production, but nowhere did they repudiate the Yalta definition of reparations. Here as elsewhere Snell is not critical enough.

Columbia University

WALTER L. DORN

THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GERMANY: AN ACCOUNT OF THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION. By *Eugene Davidson*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1959. Pp. ix, 422, xx. \$5.75.)

In this comprehensive survey of the United States occupation of Germany, Eugene Davidson seeks to fill a gap in the literature of recent history and to evaluate the experiment in a detached manner. Zink, Litchfield, Wallich, General Clay, and others have written on the occupation, but as participants, or on a particular aspect, or on a limited period. Davidson's broad theme is how in the decade 1945-1955, against the background of the dissolving Grand Alliance and the emergence of the East-West conflict, Washington's occupation policies toward Germany changed from distrust and punitive repression to positive rehabilitation, offering the Germans a chance to rebuild a peaceful, democratic, and independent Germany. Taken into account, too, is the impact of the occupation upon the Germans and how new leaders emerged from the shambles of the Third Reich. Three chapters concern the attitudes of Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill toward Germany, their attitudes toward one another, their ominously divergent war aims, and the interim agreements reached at Potsdam in August 1945. The establishment of four-power control in Berlin and problems of troop behavior in the summer of 1945—fraternization and black marketing by the Americans, and much worse by the Russians—are treated in Chapter iv. An account of the Nuremberg trials, one of the best chapters, follows. The next four cover denazification, demilitarization, industrial dismantling, and the further disintegration of German economic life, culminating in the stark winter of 1946-1947. Prisoners of war, the refugee influx, and increasing East-West tension bring the narrative to 1948, a significant year, with the extension of Marshall Plan aid, currency reform, and the Berlin blockade. At this point not only the Berliners but also the West Germans chose freedom. The merging of the Western zones, the framing of the Bonn Basic Law, and the Occupation Statute followed logically from the rupture with Russia.

The remaining seven chapters treat chronologically events and developments

from 1950 to 1955—economic recovery, restitution, occupation costs, the impact of the Korean War, restoration of sovereignty, and the integration of the Federal Republic into the Western military alliance. Here the lack of monographic and specialized studies is revealed in the author's reliance upon the quarterly reports of the high commissioner and newspaper dispatches as major sources. These chapters with one exception—that on the June 1953 uprising in Berlin—are rather sketchily reportorial and lack unifying themes. The treatment of economic developments is, however, well sustained throughout. The volume closes with the interesting suggestion that the experiences from 1933 to 1955 may have done for the Germans what the French Revolution once did for the French—that this period may be the “missing ingredient” in German history. While the author does not claim to have produced the definitive work on the occupation of Germany, he deserves grateful acknowledgment for a comprehensive, readable, and well-balanced account.

University of Virginia

ORON JAMES HALE

Ancient and Medieval History

HELLENISM: THE HISTORY OF A CIVILIZATION. By *Arnold J. Toynbee*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 272. \$4.50.)

In Toynbee's view, as is well known, Hellenism was a civilization not restricted merely to the Aegean, Black Sea, and Mediterranean areas, but one which ultimately extended westward to the Atlantic and eastward to India. It was a “distinctive way of life which was embodied in a master-institution, city-states.” City-state life, however, was not peculiar to Hellenism. The really distinguishing mark of Hellenism, according to Toynbee, was its man worship or humanism; “it was the most whole-hearted and uncompromising practice of man-worship that is on record up to date.” The subject of this book is “the connection between the Hellenes' worship of man and Hellenism's rise, achievements, breakdown, and eventual fall.”

In carrying out his theme Toynbee traces the history of Hellenism from its Minoan-Mycenaean background down to the collapse of paganism before Christianity in the fourth century A.D. In this necessarily compressed survey there is much of the Toynbean eloquence—especially in the latter half dealing with the Roman world—and there are many penetrating observations and bold generalizations which stimulate thought—and often opposition. For a book with the subtitle *The History of a Civilization*, however, there is surprisingly little space devoted to intellectual history, and the whole work is sadly marred by three great flaws: numerous factual errors, frequent distortions of evidence, and insidious use of catchwords.

As examples of factual errors it will be sufficient to mention the following: Lycurgus of Sparta identified with the mythical Thracian king, Lycurgus, who persecuted Dionysus; Hipparchus, rather than Hippias, expelled from Athens in 510; Callias, rather than Critias, called the ringleader of "the Thirty Dictators." Mistakes of this type must be merely careless slips; one wonders why they were not spotted by the editors of the Oxford Press. More serious are the distortions of evidence of which I give a few samples. Hellenic industrialization, the supremacy of the oarsman and the artisan, and the resulting democracy are placed toward the close of the sixth century B.C. Hatred for Athenian imperialism leads to statements that the tribute assessed by Aristides at the formation of the Delian League was to be spent on subsidizing the Athenian navy and that thirty years later the Athenians had their own helots—"the tribute-paying 'allies.'" Probably the prime example of twisting and suppressing evidence is the following: Toynbee writes, "The judicial murder of the greatest citizen [Socrates] that Athens ever had was one of the acts by which the Athenian democracy signalized its recapture of the city from 'the Thirty Dictators' in 399 B.C." (The wording unfortunately conveys the impression that the Thirty were expelled in 399.) To blacken the name of the radical democracy, Toynbee does not scruple to use the lurid, but misleading and inaccurate, term "judicial murder," while omitting any mention of one of the most glorious chapters of the radical democracy—the amnesty it declared after its restoration in 403. Most serious and sinister is the impression created by constantly attributing to the Hellenes the practice of man worship. Toynbee is justly famous for the invention of telling phrases. Such phrases, however, are usually at best only half-truths, and this particular one does not score that high. Most Hellenes, especially in the fifth century, were passionately devoted to their respective city-states, but, to show the absurdity of equating this emotion with man worship or of labeling the Hellenes man worshipers just because they were interested in man's tremendous potentialities for good or for evil, it is enough merely to mention names like Herodotus, Thucydides, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes. The unforgivable fault of these renowned men and of the Hellenes in general in Toynbee's eyes is, I suspect, that they were neither Buddhists nor Christians.

To the Hellenist this book, despite its vagaries, will furnish considerable food for thought. It will be an unhappy choice, however, for the person seeking an introduction to Hellenic civilization, for, besides being misled by the shortcomings mentioned above, he will find distressingly little in it about that marvelous questioning spirit of the Hellenes which has been and, I fervently hope, always will be an inspiration to those who, however gropingly, try to think for themselves.

Princeton University

JOHN V. A. FINE

ORIENS, OCCIDENS, EUROPA: BEGRIFF UND GEDANKE "EUROPA" IN DER SPÄTER ANTIKE UND IM FRÜHEN MITTELALTER. By *Jürgen Fischer*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Volume XV, Abteilung Universalgeschichte.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1957. Pp. 151.)

In investigating the terminology from the sixth to the tenth century Jürgen Fischer deals with Mediterranean and transalpine authors. Within this setting he attempts to assign a definite historical place to the use of the term "Europe" in the Carolingian period. The latter had been traced and interpreted by Eugen Rosenstock Huessy (*Das Alter der Kirche*, Vol. I, 1927). Fischer confirms his thesis that the writers of Charlemagne's period developed the term "Europe" from the Frankish basis and by its use indicated their independence from Rome. He shows that in Rome, on the contrary, *Oriens* and *Occidens* had maintained their old predominance; here these terms referred to part of the Empire as well as of the orbis directed by the Church. The most interesting contribution that this book makes are the chapters on the religious interpretation of *Oriens* and *Occidens* in the transalpine area. He makes it seem likely that the older appraisal of *Occidens* as religiously passive or even as evil and as the home of demons was still effective even after the saints of the Germanic West and Charlemagne, in the allegorical concept of the Carolingian authors, had made the *Occidens* the creative *Oriens*. Whether for this reason, however, the disavowal of *Occidens* contributed to the more frequent use of "Europe" in the Carolingian Empire remains questionable.

In the introduction the author points out that the terms which he is going to investigate have two different aspects; they belong to mythological (and religious) as well as to geographical categories, and at different times they had different contents. By the time of the Carolingian renaissance the term "Europe" seems to have retained very little mythological meaning, though in the Biblical interpretation Europe was still related to the gentes of the north and west as the children of Japhet. Geographically its potentiality was greater. Yet was this not due largely to the weakened position of Africa and Asia, on account of the spread of Islam? The use of the term, proved by the author from scattered evidence, remained an episode. For the tenth century only scanty mention of "Europe" can be traced in transalpine authors like Widukind; the idea was soon to be overshadowed by Roman Empire concepts which were congenial to the Church. One wonders whether "Europe" could ever have attained a similar depth and intensity, even if the Carolingian Empire had persisted for a longer period. This reviewer cannot help but feel that some of the authors whom Fischer quotes seem to formulate their phrases almost in a vacuum and that their concept of "Europe," which only appears sporadically, lacks depth and precision. As it was, this concept was to emerge victorious only centuries later after Christianity in

its Roman form had shaped the Continent. Then, and only then, in the seventeenth century, was "Europe" finally to replace "Christendom."

Washington University

DIETRICH GERHARD

THE ORIGINS OF RUSSIA. By *George Vernadsky*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 354. \$5.60.) [French edition published in two volumes by Librairie Maisonneuve, Paris. 2,000 fr. the set.]

THE book is in some ways a modified reedition of the author's *Ancient Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1943). In the present work Vernadsky treats the problems that he had discussed previously. Now, however, they are considered more generally, with a greater amount of space devoted to the outline of primitive Slavic culture, especially to Slavic tribes in the territory that is now Russia. He discusses the early period of Slavic migrations in the first chapter, attempting to picture the life of the nomadic society expanding to a tribal state, the formation of nomadic empires, and the mythology and art of the nomads. He then gets to his favorite subject, "the Alans, the Antes, and the Rus'." Here he explains his ideas on the origin of the Rus', following their fortunes from the Scythian-Sarmatian era through the Alano-Gothic epoch and the Hunnic age to their conflicts with the Avars. He then centers his attention on the eastern Slavs, their relations with the Bulgars, Khazars, and Magyars, and their social and economic development. A special chapter is devoted to the religious foundations of old Old Russian culture with discussions of Slavic sun worship and the clan cult, Slavic mythology, magic, songs, music, the social order, and the fine arts. The last two chapters deal with some subjects treated in his book *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1953). He gives an exposé of his own theories on the relations between the Norsemen and the Rus', the Rus' kaganate of Tmutorokan' (a favorite subject of his), the Rus' in Kiev, and the Rus' attack on Constantinople in 860. He then explains his ideas on the foundation of the Kievan state, mentioning the first Christianization of the Rus' under Photius, studies the role of Oleg, Igor', and Sviatoslav in Kiev, ending his survey with the Christianization of Vladimir and the aftermath of this event.

The author amazes the reader by the width of his knowledge, but also staggers him by the many daring theories on the origins and early history of the Rus', hypotheses based mostly on linguistic and philological similarities, which often must appear to a specialist in Iranian, Turkic, or Slavic antiquities and philology very unorthodox. Taking as a fact the association of the primitive Slavs with the Alans, he discovers traces of the Slavs in unexpected places: "There are place-names both in Transcaucasia and in Asia Minor which sound Slavic and, in my opinion at least, they actually may be of Slavic origin. Consider . . . the name of the old castle in Mingrelia, Gordi, which W. E. D. Allen compares to that of Gordian in Phrygia. Both these names may derive from the Slavic *grad* 'castle' or

'town'.... We may suppose that a Slavic group moved, around 800 B.C., from the north Caucasian plains, through the mountain pass of Daryal (Dar-yal—'the date of the Al,' i.e., Alans) and stopped in Mingrelia, building a castle (Gordi) there. From there, later on, the same group, or a branch of it, moved to Phrygia and built another town of the same name (Gordion)." This is a sample of the author's method. The Iranian influence on ancient Slavdom is now generally accepted, and the affinity of Slavic mythology with the Iranian, already demonstrated by R. Jakobson, M. Vasmer, and G. Dumezil, is rightly stressed by the author, but it should not be exaggerated. The specialist must decide how far the many interesting suggestions by the author concerning this borrowing can be trusted. Vernadsky, of course, takes it for granted that his explanation of the origins of the Rus' from the Iranian tribe of Roxolani is the only one that should be accepted. He pays no attention to the critics, better trained in Iranian philology than the author, who have rejected this combination. In the *American Slavic and East European Review* (V, 1946, pp. 217 ff.) R. N. Frye speaks of Vernadsky's many linguistic tricks. Of course, the author has to move one part of the Roxolani to the Crimea, where the first Rus' kaganate was formed by them in Tmutorokan', and another part to the Niemen River in the north. In this way, he eliminates the Norsemen from the foundation of the first Russian state, for the Alanic Rus' in the Crimea and in the north were soon Slavicized, concluding a kind of alliance with the Varangians, only to increase their military power before attacking the Asiatic cities and Constantinople. He disregards the fact that "the first incontestable attestation of a Russian Tmutorokan' dates from as late as 1022 A.D.," which was pointed out by E. Honigsmann in *Byzantion* (XVII, 1944-45, p. 133). Mentioning the first settlement of the Rus' on an island, he repeats his interpretation of Arabic sources—that they meant Tmutorokan' in the south—although it is generally accepted that the Arabs had in mind the marshy plain surrounded by rivers and lakes in the Novgorod region. The author also dismisses very lightly the doubts expressed recently concerning the reliability of the *Lives* of St. Stephen of Surož and George of Amastris concerning Russian attacks on these two cities before 860. In any case, Novgorod, mentioned in the *Life* of Stephen as the place from where the attackers came, cannot be identified as Neapolis, that is Simferopol'. The attack on Constantinople in 860 did not come from Tmutorokan', but from Kiev, and did not last almost a year. It was a short episode, as has been clearly shown by C. Mango, the editor of the English translation of the *Homilies of Photius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958, pp. 74-82).

It is impossible to go into more detail. The book is full of suggestions, etymologies, and deductions which sometimes appear stimulating, but a reader more familiar with the problems will be shocked by the cool manner in which these theories are presented to the unsuspecting public. It is an example of the danger to be encountered by a historian when he abandons the safety of historical data and ventures into linguistic and philological speculations without being

properly equipped for such a task. Although the book is not for the general reader, unaware of the complexity of the problems, it may be of interest to specialists, providing stimulation for further research.

Washington, D. C.

FRANCIS DVORNIK

A SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS. HIGH MIDDLE AGES, 500–1200. Volume VI, LAWS, HOMILIES, AND THE BIBLE; Volume VII, HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LETTERS; Volume VIII, PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE. By *Salo Wittmayer Baron*. (2d rev. ed.; New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. 486; 321; 405. \$7.50; \$5.50; \$7.00.)

THE most recent trilogy in Professor Baron's vast magnum opus, these three volumes, covering the years 500 to 1200, discuss perhaps the most fecund period in Jewish intellectual history. It was, first and foremost, the era in which Jewish jurisprudence reached the apogee of its development. Exiled from Palestine for several centuries, the Jews were nevertheless permitted, even in the lands of their dispersion, to govern themselves on a capitulatory basis. As in the case of the Moslem world, in which the largest number of Jews were settled, law was inseparably wedded to the religious tradition; and the Jewish corpus juris was to be found almost exclusively in the Talmud—that imposing compendium of commentaries written in interpretation of Biblical law and lore.

Because they were scattered in communities throughout three continents, however, there did not exist among the Jews a “supreme court” empowered to issue final legal judgments. Rather, the authority of the various Jewish codes, commentaries, and legal responsa depended entirely upon the intellectual prestige of the scholars who wrote them. From the seventh to the eleventh centuries that prestige was highest among the scholars of the Babylonian Talmudic academies. In later years such distinguished Egyptian and French jurists as Maimonides and Rashi assumed the mantle of leadership. Baron convincingly ascribes the genius of the Jewish legal tradition to the intellectual authority exerted, on the one hand, by its learned and respected interpreters, and, on the other, to the latitude those interpreters permitted for local and regional customs.

Baron illuminates as well the unremitting interaction between Jewish and Arabic civilizations. Thus, Moslem laws and mores powerfully affected Jewish legal practices, even as Jewish precedents and traditions exerted a notable reciprocal influence. This symbiosis of cultures was not limited to law. During the so-called Islamic renaissance, between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, the impact of Arabic civilization was manifested equally in linguistics, literature, philosophy, and science. Arabs attached great importance in this epoch to chasteness of language, clarity of expression, and felicity of style. Responding to these new criteria, the Jews, in turn, purged the Hebrew language of its Aramaic

residue, formulated authoritative Hebrew dictionaries, lexicographies, and grammars, and cultivated austere standards of stylistic purity. One of the most significant manifestations of this "Golden Age" of Jewish literary creativity was the imperishable secular poetry of Samuel ibn-Nagdela, Solomon ibn-Gabirol, and Judah ha-Levi.

In no field of intellectual endeavor, however, was the sympathetic reaction between the two cultures more apparent than in philosophy and science. In Volume VIII of this series, Baron traces the chain reaction touched off by the Arab discovery and translation of the ancient Greek writers. As eagerly as their Arab counterparts, the Jewish thinkers of Africa and Spain accepted the challenge of reconciling their ancestral religion with the postulates of Aristotelian reason. Moses Maimonides, whose giant intellect dominated the era of Jewish scholasticism, ultimately effected this synthesis in his *Guide to the Perplexed*, the single greatest work of Jewish philosophy in the Middle Ages. It was hardly a coincidence that Maimonides was also the most celebrated physician of the twelfth century; the scholastic tradition extended no less into the realm of science. Hundreds of Jewish scholars, rabbis, and poets, following the example of Maimonides—and, indeed, of Aristotle, himself—turned their talents as readily to astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. This sunburst of Jewish intellectualism was not without effect in the Christian world. Carried across the Pyrenees, Hebrew translations of Greek, Arabic, and Jewish texts ignited the cultural revival of the twelfth-century renaissance.

In writing a history of such extraordinary magnitude, Baron inevitably is confronted with some hard choices in organization. He has preferred to structure his volume along topical rather than geographical lines. As a result, each subject, whether it deals with law, literature, worship, or science, must embrace a vast agglomeration of Jewish communities in Europe, North Africa, and Asia. Clearly, differences among these communities—especially before the Islamic unification—will not infrequently be as important as their similarities. In some instances, too, time lags of centuries may countervail the applicability of Baron's generalizations. Perhaps an alternative method of organization would present even graver difficulties. Nevertheless, for the sake of chronological perspective, the reader unfamiliar with Jewish history may find it advisable to read a brief one-volume work on the subject in advance.

Baron's trilogy is a seminal work in several respects. It is encyclopedic: virtually every subject—exegesis, folklore, liturgy, science—is explored and explained with scrupulous thoroughness and integrity. Its historicity is of the highest order: in tracing the interaction of civilizations, Baron leaves nothing to guesswork. With masterly authoritativeness, monumental erudition, and terse, clinical style, he draws freely from Byzantine, Arabic, Hebrew, or Aramaic texts to illuminate each link in the chain of cultural and religious causation. Finally, Baron has provided the reader with a series of bibliographical notes which, in their totality, are nothing less than a parallel history. For in each of these references he offers

an exhaustive compendium of all published material available on a point of further research. He then proceeds to give a brief synopsis of this literature, together with a critical evaluation of it. These invaluable supplementary notes have been a hallmark of Baron's writings for decades. In this, his most recent history, they remind us once more of that uncompromising scholarly probity which, in the field of Jewish historiography, has made him the magisterial figure of our time.

Stanford University

HOWARD M. SACHAR

MEDIEVAL POOR LAW: A SKETCH OF CANONICAL THEORY AND ITS APPLICATION IN ENGLAND. By *Brian Tierney*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. x, 169. \$4.00.)

THIS is a fine study of medieval canonists' ideas about poor relief; and it is a timely one related to contemporary interest in the history of American philanthropy. The book corrects the common assumptions of modern economic and social historians that medieval poor law and charity were based not on philanthropy but on the selfish desire of the giver to save his own soul; that there was no understanding of the personal and social problems of poverty; and that the practice, since it was private, inefficient, and ineffectual, encouraged poverty and beggary. Without engaging in the apologetics of the worshiper of a golden age, Professor Tierney, a careful and thorough scholar in the field of medieval canon law and the Church, shows first of all that if there was little public relief administered by the state, the equivalent flourished in the Church, for it had its own public law and was a kind of state which had jurisdiction throughout Western Christendom. As a state the Church enforced much of the legal theory of the canon lawyers, especially in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. This theory in general emphasized, of course, the Christian attitudes toward charity. But charity was not blind and self-centered. Poverty was no disgrace, and the poor who were not simply too lazy or trifling to work for their living deserved relief in the forms of protection in the courts and of food and clothing. Property owners, in turn, were bound to share their goods with the needy, but only gradually and with as many individuals as possible. It was better for the wealthy to remain rich in order to continue to help society than to give their all. In times of necessity, however, the poor could appeal to the Church courts to force propertied men to give them aid. Thus while the Church naturally supported property rights, it expected the wealthy to yield in measure to the necessity of poor relief.

But what was the practice? The author proves, on the whole convincingly despite some necessary deficiency in data and statistics, that the Church, through the local clergy and churches, did a good job in the circumstances to provide for the poor who could not work. In the later Middle Ages, however, it fell down. This was particularly true in its failure to understand the problem of the increase of the deserving jobless, which resulted from economic and social changes brought

about by such things as enclosures. Whatever the actual practice was, in fact the canonists and the Church laid down many of the concepts and rules of poor law which were taken over by the state in the sixteenth century and later.

Altogether, this is an excellent book. It is sound and contains a wealth of medieval lawyers' opinions which will strike the reader as sensible, intelligent, and "modern."

University of Wisconsin

GAINES POST

RURAL ENGLAND, 1086-1135: A STUDY OF SOCIAL AND AGRARIAN CONDITIONS. By *Reginald Lennard*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 409. \$7.20.)

J. H. ROUND once warned against "the vain attempt to obtain definite conclusions from the bewildering morass of figures contained in Domesday Book." Yet he and many others have continued to make the attempt because there is nothing like the great survey for such an early date and so large a territory. Mr. Lennard, who has previously contributed to Domesday studies, here has set out to discover the countryside of Norman England. He is all too well aware of the difficulties and pitfalls. His work is not one of brilliant hypotheses but of careful and critical scholarship, adding to our knowledge by refined methods of analysis and by avoidance of anachronism.

The picture that emerges from this study, therefore, is not sharp and clear but rather blurred and misty. Yet it is recognizably rural England, as we know it from the fuller sources of later periods. To begin with, as Lennard rightly insists, England in 1086 was already an old country, and men dwelled in villages, generally close to one another. It had long been a land of great landlords, though since 1066 these had become foreigners and were related to each other through their feudal system. Like the king, most great landlords found it best to exploit their estates by farming them out. The farmers, who were often Englishmen, leased the estates for a term of years or life or lives, though there might be provisions for increase of rent after a few years and the lords might retain some rights and interest in their estates. There was great local and regional variety in settlement and exploitation, some of it due to specialized occupations like mining or stock raising, some of it due to historical factors like the Danish settlement of the north and east. On the other hand Lennard accepts the manor as "typical" and the village as "normal"; that is, most people lived in villages and were engaged in subsistence agriculture, giving some of their labor and produce to their lords. These peasants were not, however, of one status, and the villages must have had considerable social complexity based on differences in wealth and legal freedom. A special chapter is devoted to the parish churches which Lennard believes were already very numerous, there being normally a priest of peasant status in each village.

There is room for difference on a number of these points, but this book will have to be read and reckoned with by all serious students of Norman England.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

LA CHRÉTIENTÉ ET L'IDÉE DE CROISADE. LES PREMIÈRES CROISADES; RECOMMENCEMENTS NÉCESSAIRES (XII^e-XIII^e SIÈCLES).

By *Paul Alphandéry*. Prepared by *Alphonse Dupront*. [L'Évolution de l'humanité, Synthèse collective, Numbers 38 and 38a.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1954; 1959. Pp. xxix, 244; ix, 336. 5,000 fr.; 5,000 fr.)

In 1957 the president of the American Historical Association made a new assignment to his colleagues urging them to reconsider the past with some understanding of depth psychology, of unconscious, irrational forces, of collective mentality. The work before us makes such an approach. Professor Alphandéry was interested in the subconscious of the crowd. He thought to find there those feelings which are the essence of religion, particularly among simple folk living their faith unmindful of dogmatic subtleties. By investigating "l'histoire intérieure" of crusading he aimed to recapture the spirit of the times. This contrasts with the usual scholarly attempt to explain the course of events. We have here a work on the psychology of religion in a historical setting. It differs in form from the books of Le Bon and William James but readers of the latter will comprehend it.

Emphasis lies on the "réalités de signification et de spiritualité collectives," and this requires an inventory "des expériences, des images, des traditions inscrites dans l'inconscient collectif de l'Occident chrétien" after a millenium of Christianity. The author persistently uses such terms as "sublimation," "cosmic images in the collective unconscious," "collective mysticism," "collective imagination," "hereditary subconscious," which readers not adapted to social psychology may find troubling. But they must recognize them as the marks of the new assignment. Alphandéry maintains proper scholarly reserve, often presenting his points as questions with suggested answers. But since psychological developments are matters of interpretation, not easily demonstrable to the uninitiated, statements about them tend to become dicta. We are told, for instance, that "dans son intention et son mythe, la Croisade est réalité de l'unité [de la Chrétienté entière]." As the conclusion of a distinguished scholar, who has pondered the subject for years, this merits thoughtful attention, but it is not easy to grasp. One must first accept the assertion that "l'intuition de Paul Alphandéry a pénétré dans cette historiographie contemporaine de la première Croisade, imprégnée du Dieu de l'Ancien Testament, dans les foisonnements prophétiques qui accompagnent la vie même de la Croisade, ses surgies mystérieuses, les attentes qu'elle doit satisfaire, une poignance de religion. C'est la sûreté même: la Croisade est religion."

For examining the essential and mysterious realities "de la vie spirituelle

collective" as evidenced in crusading, it is necessary to use sources that may be expected to show these. The circumstances and content of popular preaching get much more attention than mere events. Traditions, myths, heroic poems, comments in local chronicles, superstitions, saintly lives, and "documents lipsanographiques" are utilized extensively. The legendary Peter the Hermit is more important than the historical one. Such an approach may be a good reflection of contemporary feeling. From this angle the Fourth Crusade becomes respectable and the spirit of the Fifth gets considerable elaboration. More truly religious integrity is credited to Pierre du Bois and Guillaume de Nogaret than is usual. It is clear enough that the crusading movement included popular religious ebulliance, a recognized phenomenon observable from Apostolic times through the Reformation to today's fundamentalist revivalism. But the concluding lyrical commentary on the continuity of crusading into our time may be somewhat more exalted than sober, old-fashioned historians can take.

Williamstown, Massachusetts

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

Modern European History

DAS WERDEN DES NEUZEITLICHEN EUROPA, 1300-1600. By *Erich Hassinger*. [Geschichte der Neuzeit.] (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag. 1959. Pp. xviii, 493. DM 26.80.)

ACCORDING to the foreword of Professor Gerhard Ritter, editor of this four-volume *Geschichte der Neuzeit*, its chief purpose is to provide "introductions" and "handbooks" for the German university student and teacher. In the well-known German tradition, such a handbook is largely meant to be a guide to the *Stand der Forschung*, and this is, indeed, the principal value of Professor Hassinger's work. Although several other German handbooks include the same period, this is the first not limited to German history. Moreover, it intends to consider international scholarship on the broadest possible basis. The appended *Auswahl-Bibliographie*, which covers nearly one-fifth of the volume, is a classified and reasoned guide to the study of the period. As a rule, the selection is limited to publications of the last thirty years, with special emphasis on discussions of major problems and their history and on new interpretations. The scope is a truly universal one—an attempt at an "integral history," as the author calls it—covering economic-social, political-institutional, and religious-ecclesiastical developments along with the history of culture and ideas. There is a systematic attempt to give equal weight with the West to all north and east European countries. In the descriptive text, too, the emphasis largely corresponds to the attention paid to the respective themes in recent scholarship; established results and unsolved questions are discussed in detail. Probably the most useful chapters are, therefore,

those dealing with subjects lately elucidated by fresh approaches or controversies: the history of the concepts of "Renaissance" and "Counter-Reformation" (or "Catholic Reform"), the evaluation of Luther, the Council of Trent, the character of Spanish colonization, the European influence of Italian Protestants and "heretics," the early history of religious tolerance, and the interrelations between economic and political changes. Since nothing comparable to this guide, in breadth, reliability, and careful objectiveness, exists in any language, the volume should prove of great usefulness even outside the circle for which it was originally written.

In offering so much between two covers, it may have been unavoidable to pay a certain price. The focus of the narrative often changes so abruptly that readers who wish to form a rounded view of the period by coherent reading may prefer one of the well-known presentations by Gerhard Ritter, Myron Gilmore, or Harold Grimm. Hassinger's work, despite its broader title, is also chiefly concentrated on the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Furthermore, in order to establish a measure of unity among so many facets of civilization, the author found it necessary to select one—ecclesiastical history (*Kirchengeschichte*)—as a "perspective point" (*Bezugspunkt*). The state, he says, was not yet fully emancipated from the Church during the sixteenth century. Such a perspective serves as a useful help and warning against the danger of reading too modern a meaning into some features of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but partly at least, it seems to me, this result is achieved at the cost of a fair estimate of the contribution of humanism and the Renaissance. Relying on the well-known but questionable theory that humanism was essentially nothing but rhetoric and a formal element and consequently could associate with any *Weltanschauung*, the author uses as one of his most elaborate examples of humanism the *humanisme dévot* of Francis de Sales, the Saint of the French Counter Reformation, and calls Calvin "a Christian humanist throughout his life." On the other hand, many indispensable representatives of genuine humanism, such as Vives and Montaigne, remain unnoticed. (Montaigne is mentioned only for his attitude toward religious tolerance.) Neither does Erasmus receive the central place in the struggles of the period which many would attribute to him. Outside the humanistic movement, we do find a discussion of Machiavelli's views of power and ethics, but there is nothing about Guicciardini or any other great political writer of the Italian Renaissance, so the perspective is unduly narrowed. Neither is there any mention of Castiglione's *Cortigiano*, nor, when we turn to Germany, of Paracelsus or of Sebastian Franck (except for the latter's views on tolerance).

These few examples must suffice to suggest that in future editions the book might bear substantial supplements as well as some revision of the author's historical appraisals. But this is not to say that such imperfections greatly detract from the immense practical helpfulness of Hassinger's work.

QUESTIONI DI STORIA DEL SOCIALISMO. By *Leo Valiani*. [Studi e ricerche, Number 9.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1958. Pp. 451. L. 3,500.)

SIGNOR Valiani has a distinguished record as historian of the European socialist movement and of the Italian resistance during World War II. His latest book contains three different sections. Chapter I, which comprises more than one-third of the volume, is a lengthy and valuable bibliographical essay. It lists much that has been published in Italy and in other countries by Italian exiles during the last few decades on the origin, growth, and diffusion of socialist ideas in Italy and on the development of an organized proletarian movement in that country. Chapter II, about one hundred pages, forms the second section. Here the author illustrates in considerable detail the efforts made by socialists to create some kind of international unity after the split in 1872 which practically put an end to the First International. These efforts were partially successful in 1889 when the Second International came into existence. The next nineteen chapters form the third section. They are derived from articles and reviews illustrating a few socialist personalities and critical episodes in the development of socialism in Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy.

For a third of a century an active participant in the socialist movement, Valiani has traveled a long way from the dogmatic Marxist approach. His method is closer to that of Croce than to that of the dialectical materialists; his outlook is broad and as objective as is humanly possible. In the first section, the reader is likely, at times, to regret the lack of a critical evaluation of the works listed. Few people can go through the large mass of books, pamphlets, reports, and articles whose titles appear in the bibliographical essay, as Valiani has done; some help in making a selection would be desirable. The second section is probably the best and clearest summary made by a continental historian of the development of socialism between 1872 and 1889. Valiani has a deep awareness of the many currents in which the socialist movement was then divided, and of what each current meant to its participants. The reader can also trace the beginnings of the present-day parties and of the cleavage between laborism, social democracy, semidemocratic socialism, and Communism. The third section is rather uneven: the brief chapters dealing with British, German, and Russian manifestations of socialism cover ground that has already been studied intensively. On the other hand, the two chapters on Filippo Buonarroti vividly illustrate the most important figure linking eighteenth-century "communism" and the utopian socialism of the 1820's and 1830's, and the eight chapters dealing with Italian developments from 1890 to the liberation make an excellent contribution to the knowledge of socialism in a country where at least half of the adult population—as Social Democrats, Christian Socialists, Socialists without qualification, and Communists—consider themselves heirs to the socialist tradition of the nineteenth century.

Smith College

M. SALVADORI

CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOCIETY: THE REORIENTATION OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL THOUGHT, 1890-1930. By *H. Stuart Hughes*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1958. Pp. xi, 433, xv. \$6.00.)

Mr. Hughes's book ranks among the most important recent contributions to the intellectual history of the early twentieth century. In his first chapter he defines as distinctly as his elusive subject matter permits those aspects of intellectual history with which he intends to deal. It is his belief that only through "rigorous selectivity... can the writing of intellectual history achieve artistic and logical integration." With this idea in mind he concentrates on what he terms the high level of thought, leaving "popular ideas and practices" to the cultural anthropologist. This reviewer is in agreement with Hughes's criteria, though still maintaining the conviction that the study of newspapers, schoolbooks, etc., is an indispensable corollary to the high level thought study. This reviewer, however, does differ with him in regard to the time and space limits that he has imposed on his "field of study." The year 1890 obviously marks as radical a caesura as any that has occurred in the history of European ideas, but that 1930 brings the period to a close seems open to debate. Surely 1914 produced a more decisive break. In like manner, Hughes limits his investigations to the "original heartland of Western society: France, Germany (including Austria), and Italy." Scandinavia, the Iberian Peninsula, and the British Isles are excluded on the ground that "these have always seemed less self-consciously European than the states of the continental core." Whatever the truth of this remark may be, it implies a conscious omission of such figures as Ibsen, Galsworthy, Shaw, Unamuno, and Ortega, yet these men are of prime importance for the topic to which this book is dedicated: consciousness and society.

Hughes rightly observes that a generation, a "cluster of genius," was born between 1855 and 1880. This generation reached maturity and fullness of expression around the turn of the century and its ideas have produced an extraordinary modification in our intellectual outlook. In dealing with these men Hughes combines the topical and biographical approach in exemplary manner. He not only offers a penetrating analysis of the multiple problems that occupied their minds, but in each instance he adds an incisive criticism of their achievements which is worthy of the masters who form the core of his study.

There seem to be certain missing links in Hughes's chapter on the critique of Marxism by Durkheim, Pareto, Croce, and Sorel. As he states, the decade of the 1890's saw the greatest expansion in the history of European socialism, but the most fruitful variations of orthodox Marxism, those introduced by Bernstein and Lenin, are mentioned only in passing, and the work of the Fabians is ignored.

In his treatment of Freud, Hughes stresses (as H. Marcuse and W. Langer had done before him) the social and historical implications in Freud's teachings, what may rightfully be called Freud's philosophy of history, which historians have, for the most part, chosen to disregard. This emendation should hold a defi-

nite value for the student. The chapter entitled "The Heirs of Machiavelli" deals with Pareto, Michels, and Mosca and discusses the share of responsibility borne by the neo-Machiavellians in the advent of Fascism. Here Hughes's style is both terse and trenchant, but this reviewer questions whether the work of Carl Schmitt should not have been mentioned in this perspective. One of the best parts of the book is that devoted to the genesis of historicism from Dilthey to Troeltsch and Meinecke, yet it would seem that the stimulating power of Troeltsch's personality is not sufficiently emphasized, especially in view of its deep-reaching influence on Meinecke and Otto Hintze. Moreover, the solution for the dilemma of historicism, presented by Troeltsch as early as 1918, still holds, i.e., that historical relativism can be overcome only by an act of faith in the system of values to which the historian consciously or unconsciously adheres.

Greater reservations may be held regarding the remaining chapters, which Hughes groups under the title "The European Imagination and the First World War." The concept that intellectual history "deals with the thoughts and emotions of men" is entirely acceptable, and there should be no quarrel about the inclusion of Proust, Gide, Mann, Hesse, and Pirandello in a history of European thought. But imaginative literature is surely not limited to the novel. George, Hofmannsthal, Rilke, and Valéry have made great contributions to this phase of Hughes's study. And are Claudel and Shaw less significant than Pirandello?

One more observation may be added. This book has a distinctly academic slant. Professors and scholars, notably Max Weber, Croce, and Freud, emerge as the towering figures. But Weber's influence was limited to university circles as was that of Durkheim. Their quest was in many instances conditioned by the technical problems of their profession. And it seems problematical whether the analysis of sociological methods can be called intrinsic in a history of thought. The underlying problem is admittedly a difficult one. What does belong rightfully to intellectual history? Where is the dividing line between "high" and "low"? What is relevant and what irrelevant for the history of ideas? Every historian will apply his own criteria to these questions, and this reviewer's remarks are in no way meant to detract from the great respect that Hughes's work deserves. This is a stimulating, significant, and thought-provoking book; the author is in full command of a material that is both large in scope and charged with meaning. The historian, the political scientist, and the sociologist will benefit from reading *Consciousness and Society*.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

POWER, PUBLIC OPINION, AND DIPLOMACY: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF EBER MALCOLM CARROLL BY HIS FORMER STUDENTS. Edited by *Lillian Parker Wallace* and *William C. Askew*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 421. \$8.75.)

THIS is a notable tribute to a scholar of note who recently retired from a long-term history professorship at Duke University, and who has also rendered service to Clio in government. This *Festschrift* consists of eleven historical studies, mostly on aspects of European diplomacy, by scholars who did their Ph.D. work under Professor Carroll's direction. Emphasis on the play of public opinion occurs throughout the essays. A brief review cannot, unfortunately, do full justice to individual contributions.

William C. Askew of Colgate University, in a meticulously documented study on "The Austro-Italian Antagonism, 1896-1914," throws light on the fluctuating currents of opinion, official and unofficial, bearing on Austro-Italian relations during the crucial years before World War I. He shows considerable sympathy for Italian diplomacy in the aftermath of Italy's humiliation at Sadowa and in the subsequent battle of mutual suspicions and diplomatic conflicts between Austria and Italy. He believes that Italy offered "the best plan . . . to prevent the tragedy of 1914," i.e., Serbian acceptance of the Austrian ultimatum, with Great Power supervision of its execution.

Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College tells the story of a brief and remarkable collaboration from 1846 to 1849 between the British Foreign Office, under Lord Palmerston, and Pope Pius IX, for the purpose of promoting political liberalism in Italy and the removal of Austrian power from that country. Unfortunately, this came when the revolutionary impulses were too strong for "gradualism" in reform and when the freedom movement in Italy was not powerful enough to get rid of Austria. Unfortunately, also, Pius' position as political reformer soon clashed with his position as sovereign pontiff of a spiritual empire.

Other essays are also of interest: C. Waldron Bolen of Clemson College says that when Hitler decided to remilitarize the Rhineland the French government was frustrated by its own public opinion and by British indecisiveness; William R. Rock of Bowling Green State University discusses the British dilemma in the spring and summer of 1939, when that government sought an agreement with Russia that would save Poland from Germany without inviting Russian occupation; John Clinton Adams of Dartmouth College explores the basic factors in Russian foreign policy, and says there are only two—geography and Russian character; John A. Murray, now deceased, says the criticisms of Sir Edward Grey's foreign policies in 1911 and 1912 brought foreign policy out of the stage of "an esoteric science" into the arena of public discussion; J. Bowyer Bell of Trinity School holds the indecision and vacillation of Premier Léon Blum responsible for the collapse of the Spanish Republic; Frederick B. M. Hollyday of Duke University maintains that Bismarck was "totally in error" in charging

that Albrecht von Stosch and Heinrich Rickert sought to supplant him with a "Gladstone Ministry"; President Lucien E. Roberts of Middle Georgia College discusses Egypt's unhappy experience during the years 1875-1878 as a pawn of European diplomacy; Rodney O. Davis of Gustavus Adolphus College reaches the surprising conclusion that Lloyd George, in developing British war aims, would have admitted being led by public opinion, rather than being its leader; Mary Elizabeth Thomas of Florida State University says that in the war scare of 1887, regardless of existing treaties, British opinion was overwhelmingly against intervening in the event Germany attacked France through Belgium.

The volume also contains a bibliography of Carroll's writings and an excellent index.

Falls Church, Virginia

G. BERNARD NOBLE

SARAJEVO: THE STORY OF A POLITICAL MURDER. By *Joachim Remak*.

(New York: Criterion Books. c. 1959. Pp. xv, 301. \$5.00.)

1914. By *James Cameron*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. c. 1959. Pp. vii, 278. \$3.95.)

THESE two books are issued forty-five years after the outbreak of the First World War. Mr. Remak's *Sarajevo* is a popular, well-written account of an old story which, with one exception, adds nothing to what has long been known. It begins with a character sketch of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Hapsburg throne, who was well disposed toward the southern Slavs but was hated by the rising generation of that divided people; traces the origins of the plot that ended in his death at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914; recounts the story of his peculiar funeral; and analyzes at some length the trial of the conspirators. This last theme has not hitherto been tackled in English, and Remak's account of the proceedings is the justification of his book. Although the author tries to be objective and impartial, his sympathies are clearly pro-Austrian, and there is no doubt in his mind that Dragutin Dimitriyevich-Apis was the villain of the tale. The final verdict must await the publication of the Serbian archives.

Those archives were removed by the Austrians in 1915 and by the Germans during World War II, yet the captors have never published the papers relevant to Sarajevo—as if they did not find the papers they wanted. In his recent *Österreich zwischen Russland und Serbien* (Graz, 1958), Hans Uebersberger has printed facsimiles of two documents, undated, but between June 2 and 13, 1914, from the Serbian archives which report the crossing of the Serbian frontier into Bosnia by two students, one of them named "Triša" (Trifko Grabez?), carrying six bombs and four revolvers. This may be what Lyuba Yovanovich had in mind when, in 1924, he stated that the Serbian cabinet of 1914 had been informed by Pashich of the plot against Francis Ferdinand. For some reason Remak does not mention these documents or refer to Uebersberger's book in his bibliography,

which provides an excellent survey of the highly controversial sources concerning Sarajevo.

1914 is quite a different kind of book, not a piece of sustained historical investigation, but an attempt to recall the mood of the year that ended the long era of peace and ushered in the First World War. The summer of 1914 in England was one of the finest on record and was enjoyed to the full, in spite of troubles in Ireland, activities of suffragettes, and the increasing cost of social reform. Mr. Cameron, a reporter for twenty years and now with the *London News Chronicle*, does not write from his own recollections, but he has read widely and digested accurately. His account of the incredulity with which the approach of war was greeted could not be bettered.

It took England some months to get used to the war. The army sent to France nearly came to grief, owing to the wrangling between its commander, Sir John French, and General Lanrezac, who commanded the French army on the British right. Happily, nothing about this was published at the time, or the British people might have lost the confidence that carried them along. Outwardly, it was hard to believe that there was a war raging, for "business as usual" was still the motto, and life in England had not been much affected by the end of the year. The strangest episode was the Christmas truce between British and German soldiers in Flanders, the most shameful the hounding by the press of the first sea lord, Prince Louis of Battenberg, who had served in the British navy as a British subject since 1868.

Cameron does not entirely omit the Continent, having something to say about life in both France and Germany. He is to be congratulated on writing an interesting book which will recall to elderly persons many incidents which they will surely have forgotten.

Alexandria, Virginia

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

DIE SOWJETISIERUNG OST-MITTELEUROPAS: UNTERSUCHUNGEN
ZU IHREM ABLAUF IN DEN EINZELNEN LÄNDERN. Volume I.
Edited by *Ernst Birke* and *Rudolf Neumann* with the cooperation of *Eugen
Lemberg* on behalf of Johann Gottfried Herder-Forschungsrates. (Frankfurt
am Main: Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1959. Pp. x, 398.)

AMONG important by-products of World War II has been the extension of Russian influence throughout East and Central Europe in the form of a satellite system. A description of how that system emerged and the course it has assumed since 1945 is the aim of this cooperative study. Based on documentary evidence and supplemented by other works pertinent to the problem, this treatise consists of five lengthy and uniformly organized chapters, treating the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the complex Balkan situation, and East Germany. Each chapter examines the underlying and the immediate causes of Sovietization and

the role the Communist party played in this undertaking. This is followed by brief summaries of administrative apparatus, changes introduced in the judicial system and judicial procedure, reorganization of the armed forces, transformation of the economy, and the reorientation in education, press, propaganda, and religious policies. The authors make it clear that this remaking of East Central Europe, as events in Poland, Berlin, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary have indicated, has not been void of great stresses and strains.

While this reviewer was gratified to learn that in the West there are other than expedient political interests in the peoples of Eastern Europe, he was disappointed in another regard. Throughout this otherwise scholarly and balanced work nothing is said of the Nazi contribution to the Sovietization of Eastern Europe. Yet that contribution was immense. Nazi exploitation and mistreatment of native populations created favorable conditions for local Communist parties with the aid of Soviet armies to emerge supreme. Nazi occupation of Eastern Europe not only paved the way for the extension of Russian influence but to a large extent it also determined both the tempo and scope of Sovietization. Except for this rather vital omission, the present study represents a valuable synthesis in the growing literature on the problem.

Portland State College, Oregon

BASIL DMYTRYSHYN

PHILANTHROPY IN ENGLAND, 1480-1660: A STUDY OF THE CHANGING PATTERN OF ENGLISH SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS. By *W. K. Jordan*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 1959. Pp. 410. \$6.00.)

In this comprehensive, thoroughgoing, vividly written volume, Professor Jordan traces "the changing aspirations of English society as reflected in the benefactions of the age" of the Tudors and early Stuarts. He has undertaken "to record every gift and bequest made to charities" in ten carefully selected counties, rural and urban, including Middlesex (London), covering one-third of the parishes, one-third of the population, and "something over" half of the wealth of England between 1480 and 1660. He has also examined all available parochial statements of receipts and disbursements for relief from 1560 to 1660 in the ten counties and whatever overseers' accounts he has been able to discover elsewhere.

The present book sets forth the principal, statistically based findings, introducing them with a discussion of the evolution of the Poor Law and of the charitable trust, and of the bearing of these two devices upon the welfare developments of the period. Sermons and other relevant writings of the 180 years are reviewed, with abundant and interesting quotation, for their influence upon the impulse toward philanthropic action.

After a description of the statistical approach employed, with an appropriate caution about "the frailties of the method," Jordan reports 34,953 donors in an estimated population of 1,389,000 in the ten counties. These donors gave £3,-

102,696 between 1480 and 1660, two-thirds in bequests and 82 per cent in capital funds. Contributions reached a preliminary peak during the Edwardian reformation and then rose to a steep top in 1621-1630, more than quadrupling those of any decade in the sixteenth century. From 1560 to 1660 receipts from parochial poor rates and disbursements by the overseers mounted in a steady curve, but they were far surpassed by the funds expended under philanthropic auspices. In London, Somerset, and Yorkshire more than half of the £2,057,709 contributed by 17,450 donors came from 3,121 merchants, dwarfing the combined donation of crown, nobility, gentry, and clergy. Two subsequent volumes will discuss in more detail the nature of bequests and other gifts in urban and rural England.

Among the changes in English social aspirations to which Jordan points are an enlarged concern for human welfare, a consistent emphasis through the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth upon the spiritual values of benevolence but a pronounced trend from religious to secular objectives and auspices, and of what today we would call a problem-solving approach to poverty. Perhaps the best illustration of this approach was the attempt to provide work as a means of maintenance and of rehabilitation which, though unsuccessful, was a major, constructively motivated innovation.

This book is a gold mine of facts and figures and of contemporary thinking. It is interestingly written. The author's interpretations are often provocative, furnishing stimulating material for discussion in seminar and class. Can one, for example, regard testators and contributors as the equivalent of a conscious, policy-forming group, or does one see them as individuals, acting from a variety of motives, often socially irrelevant but subject to the climate of social opinion and social example? Again, was the Poor Law the "prudential device" of a merchant-dominated philanthropy, deliberately taking responsibility for this phase of the national welfare, as later in certain American communities the charity organization movement attempted, or did it develop because giving in the generality of parishes was insufficient? How far can one assume adequacy in philanthropy except in a narrowly bounded geographic or categorical territory?

Jordan presents his findings with great force and enthusiasm. He marshals a vast amount of information in a hitherto little-explored field to make an outstanding contribution to historical knowledge, an invaluable resource for teachers and writers of social history and for representatives of the burgeoning historical interest in the field of social work.

Washington, D. C.

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY: TUDOR PERIOD, 1485-1603.

Edited by *Conyers Read*. [Issued under the direction of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain.] (2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. xxviii, 624. \$10.10.)

THE appearance of Conyers Read's new edition of *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period* is an event of major importance to students concerned with any aspect of the history and civilization of Tudor England. Since the first edition in 1933 an enormous amount of research has been devoted to this field, some of the best of it under the direction of Professor Read himself. A volume that would bring up to date the accumulation of knowledge in the quarter of a century intervening between the compilation of the first and second editions has long been needed, and the new volume more than fulfills the expectations of scholars.

The revision of the bibliography of the Tudor period is the first of several such revisions made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation to the American Historical Association, which is cooperating in this enterprise with the Mediaeval Academy of America, the British Academy, and the Royal Historical Society. Also under way are a new edition of Charles Gross's *Sources and Literature of English History . . . to 1485* (the first since 1913), a revision of Godfrey Davies' bibliography for the Stuart period, and bibliographies covering later periods. All of these bibliographies are invaluable not only to historians but to all who have any serious interest in history, and few grants made by the Ford Foundation will return so much of value for the amount expended.

The second edition of the Tudor bibliography follows closely the pattern of the first, but some new sections have been added. Under "History of Law" there is a new short section on the "Court of Wards and Liveries." Under "Ecclesiastical History" there are numerous expansions, and the division on Wales also has many new sections. Read and his coworkers reviewed some five thousand titles and accepted approximately half for inclusion. A few titles in the first edition were excluded in the second. The first edition had 4,321 entries while the second has 6,543. In the preface to the new edition Read observes: "A comparison of the two editions chapter by chapter reveals the fact that significant contributions to Scottish, Welsh, and particularly Irish history have been relatively more numerous than those to English history. It is somewhat surprising to discover that additions to ecclesiastical history have been relatively more numerous than those to economic history. Among the churches, the history of Roman Catholicism has gained more than that of either the Anglican or the dissenting churches." The comment about the activity among students of ecclesiastical history comes as no surprise to this reviewer. Of all subjects studied at the Folger Library during the past decade, more serious work has been devoted to some aspect of religion in relation to society or letters than to any other single subject.

The second edition reprints the original introduction by Professor Edward

P. Cheyney which gives a brief account of the early efforts of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society to launch a joint enterprise for the publication of the first bibliographies. Most of the historians who participated in the first publications are no longer numbered among the living, but it is a satisfaction to contemplate the continuing vigor of two of them, Read and Sir John Neale, who took an active part in the preparation of the second edition by suggesting collaborators on his side of the Atlantic and by reading the entire manuscript. With characteristic generosity Read gives credit to his principal assistant, Miss Marion Ruth Swann, who "collected virtually all of the material, arranged it and indexed it with rare diligence and devotion."

Some of the significant contributions during the past quarter of a century have come in the field of cultural and social history, and here Read has added many new items. Literary research alone has consumed the energies of hundreds of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic, and a bibliographer has a difficult task in choosing the items that deserve inclusion in a work devoted to general history. One must lament that much of this literary research does not deserve to survive and Read has shown discrimination in eliminating the trivial and the ephemeral stuff that merely represents current fads and fashions in literary learning.

Of all that has been written in twenty-five years, the items dealing with literary criticism that an objective historian considers worthy of inclusion number precisely four. But Read has not neglected literary scholarship in other areas and has included biographies, editions, and essays of general significance.

No two people will agree on all of the inclusions and omissions in a bibliography of such scope as this, and any specialist can discover some item that he might wish had been included. But Read has maintained an excellent balance and has provided a tool with many edges that scholars will find indispensable for the next quarter of a century. The printing is excellent, as might be expected of the Clarendon Press, and the index is comprehensive and accurate. Scholars could not ask for more.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COMMONWEALTHMAN: STUDIES IN THE TRANSMISSION, DEVELOPMENT AND CIRCUMSTANCE OF ENGLISH LIBERAL THOUGHT FROM THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II UNTIL THE WAR WITH THE THIRTEEN COLONIES. By *Caroline Robbins*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 462. \$10.00.)

THE purpose of this book is to isolate for special study a strand of English thought in the eighteenth century that "served to maintain a revolutionary tradition and to link the histories of English struggles against tyranny in one century with those of American efforts for independence in another." Following two

chapters on several thinkers of the seventeenth century, notably Locke and Harrington, are chapters on Robert Molesworth; Ireland, with emphasis on William Molyneux; Scotland, prominently featuring Francis Hutcheson; the nonconformists, especially Isaac Watts; and the Whigs of the reigns of George II and George III, particularly Richard Price and Joseph Priestley. In addition to the more important writers mentioned, each chapter includes accounts of many lesser figures as well as of schools and liberal teachers, congregations and liberal pastors, and of clubs through which ideas were disseminated. The "ideas" that this minority are regarded as having preserved included general claims, such as the right to resist tyranny, government by consent, and freedom of thought, religion, and inquiry, and more specific political concepts, like the separation of powers, rotation in office, extension of suffrage, and equalized representation in Parliament.

Radical or even liberal political ideas were little congenial to the prevailing conservative, even complacent, temper of the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Locke's theory of natural rights, with its revolutionary implications, was displaced by an empiricism and a utilitarianism that could claim an equally clear descent from his *Essay*. So long as a Stuart restoration seemed possible, there was a powerful bias against any reform of Parliament, though this had seemed a foregone conclusion at the end of the Civil War. Hence the Whig minority described by Miss Robbins was always marginal; as she says, "No achievements in England of any consequence can be credited to them." Indeed, their thought failed to keep pace with changes in government generally regarded as progressive. They opposed ministerial responsibility to Parliament because it was contrary to the separation of powers, and they detested political parties, which one of their archenemies, Edmund Burke, perceived to be necessary to representative government. Partly for this reason they were incapable of an organization that might have given them a chance to make some of their ideas effective. "None," Miss Robbins says, "had the faintest conception of what was necessary and what was wrong, what was legitimate and what was unprincipled in the compromises and adjustments inevitably imposed upon groups anxious to implement reforming programs." Their achievement consisted wholly in preserving and transmitting a tradition. Perhaps the Thomason collection of tracts in the British Museum, which one of their number, Thomas Hollis, induced George III to buy, may stand as their monument. Their service, Miss Robbins concludes, was twofold: "They kept alive political ideas which proved suitable and useful for a great new republic," and they "rescued England from uniformity and intolerance even in a period of conservatism and indifference."

There can be no question of the thoroughness and accuracy of Miss Robbins' scholarship; she has gone far beyond the limits of printed sources to include such evidence as can be obtained of the influence of teachers and preachers. The worth of her study of conscientious and able men who have become perhaps undeservedly obscure is readily admitted. At the same time the plan of her book seems to present certain difficulties. She herself remarks that the selection of

persons to be included "cannot be precise," for the continuity with the seventeenth century consists more in similarity of ideas than in an ascertainable historical connection. It is "immensely significant," she adds, that "the most fertile ideas in politics" are found in Scotland and Ireland. For here the concepts ceased to be abstract ideas and became relevant to an actual situation—the relation of these countries to England, which later bore some resemblance to her relation to the American colonies. Was there, in truth, any problem of perpetuating a tradition, in so far as this consisted merely in keeping certain general ideas in mind? Most of the ideas were old even at the time of the Civil War. The mixed constitution as an idea, for example, had been part of the literary tradition since Plato, and Montesquieu picked up the separation of powers as a popular commonplace about English government, though it was not in fact true. It would have been remarkable if ideas like this could have been forgotten. Also, I think, when the ideas apply to an actual situation, they belong less clearly to a Whig minority. As Miss Robbins remarks, Ireland excited the loyalty of Swift and Berkeley, who were Tories, and in Scotland Hume was "near to the Commonwealthmen," though he too was a Tory. In short, it looks as if Whig or Tory could have dredged up the ideas from a common pool if they had needed them.

Cornell University

GEORGE H. SABINE

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Civil Series). Edited by *Sir Keith Hancock*. THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE. Volumes I and II. By *W. N. Medlicott*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green and Company; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1952; 1959. Pp. xiv, 732; xiv, 727. \$8.00 postpaid; \$9.29 postpaid.)

THE British government should be thanked for publishing these volumes on World War II, contrary to its decision to keep secret the official histories of the blockade in the First World War; and Professor Medlicott, who was attached to the British Ministry of Economic Warfare, 1942–1945, is to be congratulated on a very lucid account of a sprawling subject. He limits himself to the blockade, leaving aside the story of the attack on the enemy's economy by bombing and sabotage, and he considers only briefly the effects on Germany, a subject that could only be followed through German sources. The study is based primarily on documents of the General Branch of the Ministry of Economic Warfare, but use is made of embassy files in Washington, and of some Foreign Office, Board of Trade, and Air Ministry papers.

Volume I deals with the too hopeful prewar plans for economic warfare and with the early building of controls over enemy trade, through trading with the enemy legislation and black-listing, controls of enemy exports, and rationing of neutral imports. But the fall of France altered the fundamental situation in

which agreements with neutral governments had been reached, and thereafter much depended on "controls at source," i.e., through shipping controls and purchasing agreements. The German invasion of Russia, which Medlicott believes was partly dictated by fears of the effects of the blockade, stopped the greatest leak in the structure.

The period from 1941, covered in Volume II, is perhaps more dramatic. Sections of the book on British and American policies toward Japan and Latin America show that there was a remarkable degree of economic coordination even before December 1941. Although methods and tempo varied, there was unity of purpose in limiting Japan's military potentialities, without pushing her into belligerency. Anglo-American reticence on their intentions may have, in Medlicott's view, strengthened Japan's willingness to take greater risks. American policy in Latin America was based on "Hemisphere Defence," but our preclusive purchasing and our proclaimed lists of firms in bad favor did coordinate with British economic warfare measures.

In negotiations with European neutrals the British found Sweden to be the most amenable, within the limits imposed on her by the facts of war in Northern Europe, while the Swiss were believed to be trading on their traditional neutrality and enjoying the best of both worlds. Portugal and Turkey had alliances with Great Britain, and for that very reason, perhaps, gave in more readily to German economic pressures. Medlicott emphasizes that the United States took a more doctrinaire view and usually urged a tougher policy toward neutrals, e.g., in the case of Swedish ball bearings and Portuguese and Spanish wolfram. Ministry of Economic Warfare files also show ample evidence of divergencies between the State Department and the Board of Economic Warfare, the latter usually being supported by the armed services officials, who had little patience with fine political considerations. Medlicott enlarges on the story of conflict between Ambassador Hayes and the State Department already told by Feis, Hoare, and Hayes in their books on Spain.

The author gives due consideration to the relatively late decision of both Germany and Japan in 1943-1944 to exert their own maximum industrial efforts, just when these were being offset by similar increases in American war production. Yet some of the battles over neutral sales of their own goods to the Axis continued long after the military balance had swung in Allied favor.

It is a pity that no one has been permitted to undertake as thorough an account of the blockade from American sources. Gordon and Dangerfield's *The Hidden Weapon* is only an introduction; there must be much more to tell. The British were constantly upset by the confusion in Washington, and they could not help but be annoyed when the United States in the name of controlling or releasing our own goods took, and announced publicly, important actions without first informing our Allies. One can only say that it was a poor way to run a war.

Western Reserve University

MARION C. SINEY

THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY, 1941-1950. Edited by L. G. Wickham Legg and E. T. Williams. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xxi, 1031. \$16.80.)

THIS latest supplementary volume of the *DNB*, the sixth, consists of articles on 725 men and women who were British subjects—in most cases by birth, in relatively few by naturalization—and who died during the fifth decade of the present century. It was as persons of distinction, of course, that they were selected for admission to this British hall of fame, and since generally recognized distinction is seldom attained in early life, it is not strange that a majority of these “biographees” were born in the nineteenth century. The surprise (at least it was a surprise to me) is to find how overwhelming that majority is. Those born after 1900 are literally very few and far between.

As Mr. Trevor Williams suggests in his editorial prefatory note, to try to base a history of the British people in recent times upon these biographical articles would be to rely for evidence upon the unusual. History is surely more than the biographies of great men, Carlyle to the contrary notwithstanding, but, just as surely, it cannot properly leave out great men or great women; and it is true, as Williams points out, that “much of the story of the first half of this century in Great Britain and beyond is necessarily reflected in the thousand pages which follow.” As its predecessors have been, this volume will no doubt be consulted mainly as a reference by those seeking information about individuals, but it is not only a work of reference. Considered more broadly, it has value as a work of history, illustrating developments and trends during a time of unprecedentedly rapid change in almost all branches of history—the fifty years or so in which these selected individuals did their important work, made their mark, and exerted their influence.

It is manifestly impossible here, or in any brief compass, to skim all the cream in this thesaurus of eminence, but a few names may be mentioned, even at the risk of incurring the charge of invidious discrimination. We can read something here of the advances made in an age of swiftly developing natural science by physicists, Nobel prize winners Francis Aston and Sir William Bragg among others; by those great mathematicians, astronomers, cosmologists, and masters of the art of popularizing physical science, Sir James Jeans and Sir Arthur Eddington; by the Canadian physiologist Sir Frederick Banting in the discovery of insulin. The history of anthropology is illustrated by Sir James Fraser of *Golden Bough* fame; of archaeology by Sir Arthur Evans and Sir Flinders Petrie, who did so much to revolutionize the study of ancient history; of economics by John Maynard Keynes, who brought a fresh and reforming mind to the problems of his times and made “Keynesian economics” a meaningful term; of government and political parties by two British prime ministers, Lloyd George and Stanley Baldwin, and a number of Dominion prime ministers, including Mackenzie King of Canada and Smuts and Hertzog of South Africa; of labor by John

Burns, Tom Mann, and Ben Tillett (all three associated in the great London dock strike of 1889) and by J. R. Clynes and J. H. Thomas, both cabinet ministers; of social reform by the Webbs, whose deaths in the same decade made it possible to deal with their incomparable partnership in a single article; of philosophy by Alfred Whitehead and R. G. Collingwood; of literature by Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, James Joyce, and Virginia Woolf; of the history of history by A. F. Pollard, Sir William Holdsworth, Sir J. H. Clapham, Philip Guedalla, and that prodigy of scholarly productivity A. Berriedale Keith, who combined, in what might seem to be a strange blend, deep learning in the Sanskrit Vedas and unrivaled knowledge of responsible government in the British Dominions.

Feminists may resent the fact, and others may perhaps regret it, that women are the subjects of only about 6 per cent of the articles. (In the latest supplement of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the American counterpart of the *DNB*, the percentage is nearly the same, approximately 5.5.) Perhaps something will be done about it. In our country Radcliffe College is sponsoring a new biographical dictionary to be devoted exclusively to noted American women; preliminary editorial work on it has been begun under the direction of Dr. Edward T. James.

A mere turning of the present volume's pages reveals a fact that might give rise, especially in this country, to a fallacious inference. A very large proportion of the subjects of these articles (more than 60 per cent, I think) were knights or peers, with a small admixture of baronets and dames. The knights were selected, however, not because of their titles but because they were men of recognized distinction, upon whom, for that reason, knighthood had been conferred; and probably more than half of the peers held new peerages, conferred on them for the same reason. Peers, merely as such, have never been automatically admitted to the *DNB*. This is not to suggest that aristocratic descent and affiliation and connection with royalty have lost all their weight as factors in appraising distinction in Britain. Edward George Villiers Stanley, for example, may owe some of the attention he receives here to the fact that he was Earl of Derby; and Henry George Charles Lascelles, even though he was sixth Earl of Harewood, might not have rounded the cape (with a biography of a scant page) had he not married the Princess Royal.

In a work of this nature the editorial function is basic and original. It does not begin with a manuscript already written. The selection of the worthies to be included, the amount of space to be allotted to each, the securing of competent biographers, the revising and improving articles when desirable, and the checking for factual accuracy—these are responsibilities of the editorial office. And it must, of course, seek expert advice and have competent assistance. In the present volume some ninety advisers are thanked by name. The fact that the 725 articles were written by more than 560 contributors suggests that there is little hack writing here. A very large proportion of the articles cite "personal knowledge" and "private information" as sources; editorial policy has not barred associates, friends, warm admirers, or even relatives as biographers. Thus the article on

Banting was written by his collaborator C. H. Best; that on Lord Stamp by his admirer and friend Lord Beveridge; that on Lord Wedgwood by the distinguished historian Miss C. V. Wedgwood. Two editors' names appear on the title page—Wickham Legg and Trevor Williams. The former, who edited the preceding supplement, died while this one was in preparation, and Williams was left to complete the work.

New York City

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

FRONTENAC: THE COURTIER GOVERNOR. By *W. J. Eccles*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited. c. 1959. Pp. ix, 406. \$6.50.)

THIS full-length portrait of the "Great Onontio" will dismay most readers accustomed to the likeness of Frontenac to be found in Parkman's and other biographies. The author's simple thesis is that this governor of New France has been vastly overrated. Instead of being the expert soldier and civic leader, the incomparable dealer with Indians who saved New France from the Iroquois menace and its English neighbors, Frontenac is revealed as a vain, self-seeking, pugnacious, litigious, irresponsible courtier, whose main purpose was to fill his pockets with ill-gotten profits of illicit fur trading, and to make everyone in New France submit abjectly to his wishes and whims. Even the explorers sent out ostensibly to widen France's empire were his tools in this nefarious business; and his operations were usually in direct opposition to the orders he received from the King's ministers and even from Louis XIV himself.

The picture has such dark shadows that a reader inevitably inquires, "How could Parkman and other biographers and historians have been so misled?" The author's answer is that they read Frontenac's own reports to ministers and King and regarded the accounts of his opponents and enemies as unreliable and highly biased.

But how account for Frontenac's impunity in disregarding ministerial and royal orders? Here the author's answer is that Frontenac had immense influence at court, was able to write expertly and with great charm, and, in addition, was frequently related by blood or marriage to the minister in power at the moment. This view is correct up to a point, but not wholly convincing to one who has studied the sparring for power of the many cliques in Louis' court, especially the one backing the Recollects and their explorers as against those supporting the Jesuits. Moreover, the reports of such men as Frontenac, La Salle, Jolliet, Marquette, and others were frequently, if not usually, prepared and written by others—such as the Jesuits, or the Sieur de Villermont, or Abbé Bernou. Frontenac was backed by and was probably the tool of the Colbert-Callières-D'Estrées-Abbé Renaudot-Bernou clique—one of the most powerful and complicated of the Sun King's court. More of the undercover work of this group should have been included in Frontenac's biography to help explain why he could defy orders with such apparent impunity.

A study of this clique's machinations would also have necessitated Professor Eccles' devoting a larger part of his book to the explorers and the fur trade. To be sure, he makes the gains from the fur trade the moving force in Frontenac's Canadian career, thereby explaining many facets of it, such as relations with the Iroquois; but the emphasis is always on the Indians and he tends to slight Frontenac's relations with individual traders.

One or possibly two exceptions can be made. Unaware, apparently, of what he is doing, the author inadvertently adds something to our previous knowledge of the Le Moyne brothers and Henri Tonty. It is doubtful that it has been known heretofore that Tonty went among the Assiniboine Indians of the Lake of the Woods area (not so far east, however, as the map opposite page ninety-eight would lead one to believe). Here the author may have confused Henri Tonty with his brother Alphonse, who was the commandant at Michilimackinac. But it is more than likely that the "Man with the Iron Hand" was also in the region of the Upper Mississippi, Rainy River and Lake, and Lake Winnipeg. Our first authentic reports from the Lake Superior-Lake Winnipeg trade routes begin at about this time; and La Salle, Tonty's partner and successor in the Illinois country, is suspected of having been on Lake Superior earlier, according to Louise Kellogg.

Incidentally, Miss Kellogg's substantial contributions to a knowledge of Frontenac's fur trade and Indian policy are completely ignored by the author, as are several other outstanding authorities in this field. He relies chiefly on manuscripts in Paris, Ottawa, and Quebec, but seemingly on little if anything from London, where Frontenac's relations with the English colonies and the Iroquois (which form a large part of the book) are related in considerable detail. In London, too, in the archives of the Royal Society and at the British Museum, he could have found a great deal to supplement the story of Louis XIV's ministers and their methods of conducting Canadian affairs.

In other words, it seems to this reviewer that the author has done an excellent job of debunking the Frontenac myth and finding new data to bolster his thesis, but he has relied too implicitly on certain sources without taking others of a different point of view into account. Now is the time for an impartial, dispassionate, thoroughly grounded account of Frontenac's period in Canadian history to be written; it should be based upon all available sources and give due consideration to all the forces at work in Louis XIV's court in connection with Canadian affairs.

Hamline University

GRACE LEE NUTE

LA PHYSIOCRATIE À LA FIN DU RÈGNE DE LOUIS XV (1770-1774).

By *Georges Weulersse*. Preface by *Ernest Labrousse*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1959. Pp. xi, 238. 960 fr.)

THIS is a book by a specialist for specialists. It was on the physiocrats that the author, a fellow student and comrade of Mathiez, Péguy, and Albert Lévy, wrote his doctoral treatise, and defended it brilliantly at the University of Paris in 1910. Published as *Le mouvement physiocrate en France de 1756 à 1770* (2 vols., Paris, 1910), it was reviewed in this journal in April 1912 (XVII, 657-58). At that time the author announced his intention to bring his study down to the Revolution of 1789. That promise he did not forget. On his death, after a distinguished career at the Lycée Carnot, he left three manuscripts ready for the press. One was published by his friends in 1950, *La physiocratie sous les ministères de Turgot et de Neckér (1774-1781)*, reviewed in this journal's July 1951 issue (LVI, 874-75.) The present volume is the third segment. An epilogue, which brings the study down to 1792, still awaits printing.

This present volume treats the physiocratic school from the time of Choiseul's fall from power in 1770 until the beginning of Turgot's ministry. It was a period in which the school suffered governmental disfavor, expressed in various ways. Members of the group continued their Tuesday meetings at the home of Mirabeau, often with friends, including the ladies, present as guests. Little, however, is related of the personal ties of the school; the author is primarily interested in setting forth their ideas, or program. Making few references to their previous opinions, he delineates their attitudes expressed in this period on agriculture, commerce, industry, colonies, mining, fishing, taxation, government—in short, on all matters economic and on some matters political and philosophic. This he does by the method of employing multitudinous quotations. The paragraphs commonly begin with one or two topic sentences, followed by several quotations, most of them brief and some consisting of a mere clause. Perhaps two-thirds of each page, on the average, consists of quotations. In this way the author maintains accuracy and preserves the flavor of the original. But because they are taken out of context, not all the quotations are clear, and a diversity of literary style results; tangent topics are brought in and there is some difficulty in holding to the central thought. This reviewer would have preferred M. Weulersse to have relied much more on his own capable literary expression. He also wonders if a book that is so largely composed of quotations can be highly rated as history.

This is not to deny the work's solid merits. It is the product of one of the world's leading authorities on the physiocratic movement. The elaborate documentation, made with consummate brevity, reveals the author's extraordinary acquaintance with the subject. He brings in much by way of background on the economic conditions of the day. He has some references, moreover, to the political developments as they affected the physiocratic school. He has produced a work that will be of much aid to future students of the movement. It is handi-

capped in not having a conclusion or an index, but it is reported that the epilogue, when published, will carry an index to the whole work.

University of Kentucky

SHELBY T. McCLOY

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE, 1758-1794: BEITRÄGE ZU SEINEM 200. GEBURTSTAG. Edited by *Walter Markov*. In association with *Georges Lefebvre*. (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1958. Pp. 628.)

THIS well-annotated collection of essays opens with Lefebvre's glowing—indeed, too glowing—picture of Robespierre as the proponent of social justice and popular democracy. Thermidor, Charlotte Robespierre's memoirs (a beautiful critical study), and persons arrested for "endangering" or supporting Robespierre are discussed by Calvet, Pioro and Labracherie, and Eude (Paris), respectively. Robespierre's championship of the Antillean free blacks is thrillingly presented by Bruhat (Paris). Editor Markov (Leipzig) contributes a fine, largely virgin study of the Enragés and Jacques Roux. Roux's program, in its attack on property, resembles that of Hébert, which Jacob (Lille) gleans from *Le Père Duchesne*. How Robespierre rid himself of the "Revolutionary Army"; how the popular clubs were turned into instruments of Robespierre's dictatorship; and why the lowly French worker refused aid to Robespierre at Thermidor are told by Cobb (Aberystwyth), Soboul (Paris), and Rudé (London), respectively. Schnelle (Leipzig) considers rights for actors, and the theater in Robespierre's system of public-opinion control. Robespierre's tyranny in retrospect and Babeuf are Tönnesson's (Oslo) subjects. Bernstein (New York) portrays a rather too class conscious early America, and discusses American popular clubs and Paine, Barlow, etc. Leśnodorski's (Warsaw) excellent essay shows that the Polish insurrectionists of 1794 included a real Jacobin element not satisfied with independence alone. Mejďfická (Prague) demonstrates how the controlled Hapsburg press sought to calm the Bohemian peasant looking to France for release. Benda's (Budapest) memorable study tells how the middle nobility and intellectuals of Hungary were organized into an anti-Hapsburg conspiracy by Martinovics, police spy turned patriot turned informer. Stern (Halle a. d. S.) details skillfully the crafty illegalities whereby Emperor Francis crushed Austria's Jacobins. Voegt (Leipzig) portrays Rebmann as translator-exponent of Robespierre. Cantimori (Florence) considers an old parallel between Kant, who, with his *Critique of Pure Reason*, beheaded God; and Robespierre, who, with his guillotine, "beheaded the King." Fichte's "rights"—revolution, existence, freedom, property—subsequently developed into governmental obligation to provide sufficient property for subsistence constitutes Buhr's (Berlin) subject. Lastly, Cornu (Berlin) shows the influence of the French Revolution on Karl Marx's thinking.

As one can see, this book illumines many dark corners. Naturally, it is not flawless. It was not rumors that caused Britain's Pitt and Austria's De Mercy to

regret Robespierre's fall. If Montgaillard was Robespierre's emissary, Pitt and De Mercy were principals. It was the Prussians who had only rumors to go on. To speak of the Huguenots' return without mentioning the Constituent Assembly's invitation seems incomplete. Ordinary candles were not "colonial products." Their inordinate price rise sprang from scarcity of tallow; France's cattle herds were sadly depleted, and soapmakers and candlemakers were competing frantically for the little tallow available. The French Revolutionary War did not become expansionist after Thermidor. Robespierre himself contemplated annexing part of Belgium; and 120 Rhineland communities were annexed in 1793. The Rhineland was not occupied by France from 1794 to 1814. The armistice of December 1795 and the yearslong resistance of Mayence cannot be disregarded. Lastly, Marx and Engels are sometimes interjected quite unnecessarily.

The bibliography is a mere alphabetical list, but the text itself often supplies critical information. Thus, Godechot's treatment of the Polish question is characterized as "meager and moreover faulty, due to inadequate consideration and evaluation of existing materials"; R. R. Palmer's treatment is termed "marginal." One may note a few lapses in the bibliography; e.g., Aulard's *Actes* is now complete (28 vols., 1951), and Six's *Dictionnaire* appeared in revised and augmented dress in 1947. But these are trifling objections to a book offering so much.

Santa Monica, California

SYDNEY SEYMOUR BIRO

HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE DU DROIT PRIVÉ FRANÇAIS (DE 1789 À 1804):
LA RÉVOLUTION ET LA PROPRIÉTÉ FONCIÈRE. By *Marcel Garaud*.
[De la Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit publiée sous les auspices de la
Société d'Histoire du Droit.] (Paris: Recueil Sirey. 1958. Pp. 404. 4,000 fr.)

PROFESSOR Garaud's book is one of those useful monographs which, in addition to the obvious sources, here mostly collections of laws and decrees, incorporate fully the earlier monographic work. To trace what happened to property in real estate during the Revolution one has to review the status of such property in 1789; somewhat over a third of this book is devoted to a survey of the survivals of feudal tenure, the tithe, and long-term leases. This survey provides an admirable and thoroughly up-to-date examination of the literature on that old problem, just how much "feudalism" was left in French law—and practice—in the field of real estate on the eve of the Revolution.

Similarly, Garaud reviews briefly yet in substantial detail the "liberation of the soil" by revolutionary legislation suppressing the remnants of feudalism, confiscating and disposing of by public sales the property of the Church, the *émigrés*, and the *condamnés*, and dividing what had survived of communal lands. On the *vente des biens nationaux* Garaud provides in sixty pages a synthesis of work on this controversial and important subject from Marion through Lefebvre.

This is basically a work in legal history. The author is not primarily interested

in the sociology of law; on the other hand, he is far from taking the naïve position that a history of just what laws get passed is a full history of "what really happens." His position is indeed a rather surprisingly Whiggish one. He tries hard, and by no means without success, to avoid the extreme of Taine—and others—that the French Revolution was a catastrophic destruction of a decaying but somehow full-fledged "feudal" system which was replaced by a complete "bourgeois" system of private property. He also attempts to avoid the extreme of twentieth-century writers like Gaxotte, who contend that French landed property was already in 1789 wholly "modern," and the Revolution—at least the Jacobin Revolution—a premature attempt to introduce communistic collective ownership. Similarly on the sale of nationalized property, he maintains a cautious, middle-of-the-road position between those who hold that the sales had no effect, save in dispossession of the Church, on class structure and ownership of land, and those who believe that the sales made the France of nineteenth-century small-scale ownership and exploitation of real property. An unexciting and useful book.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

LA DÉFAITE DES SANS-CULOTTES: MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE ET RÉACTION BOURGEOISE EN L'AN III. By Kåre D. Tønnesson. (Oslo: Presses Universitaires d'Oslo; Paris: Librairie R. Clavreuil. 1959. Pp. xix, 456.)

HERE is another study of the Revolution in the manner of Cobb, Rudé, and Soboul; indeed, it is, in effect, a continuation of Soboul's *Les Sans-culottes parisiens en l'An II*. In his effort to write the history of the Year III "from below," Mr. Tønnesson has ransacked what would appear to be all the archives and libraries in Paris, and with great profit. He has been able to present a version of the Thermidorians more sophisticated than the frequently black-and-white account of some of his predecessors.

The opposition to the Thermidorians, he points out, was by no means unanimous in its views. The Jacobins in the first months of their defeat still supported revolutionary government even though in the wrong hands; only after the closing of their club did they rally to the Constitution of 1793. Beside them were the sans-culottes, whose views, labeled neo-Hébertist by Tønnesson, were consistently held through the Year III: the return to popular government by the restoration of the Commune, elected officials directly responsible to their constituents, the application of the constitution of the Year III.

From the point of view of the sans-culottes the hunger riots of Germinal and Prairial were the outstanding events of the year. Both these insurrections were organized outside the formal apparatus of the sections: assembly or civil committee. In fact, the latter as agents of the government and *honnêtes gens*, generally tried to check the movements. On 12 Germinal the true insurgents, with the *Cité* section taking the lead, were recruited in the streets and from the shops.

Mingling with these at the Convention were generally peaceful delegations from the sections, reading resolutions more or less critical of the government, and in some cases withdrawing after the address was read.

In regard to the Prairial riots, the author corrects two generally held notions of the invasion of the Faubourg St. Antoine by the *jeunesse dorée*. It took place on 4 Prairial, not 3 Prairial, as Mathiez and Lefebvre report it. And it was not undertaken by the *jeunesse* alone nor in a spirit of caprice. The force was set up by the government, placed under the command of General Kilmaine, and given a specific mission. Its twelve hundred members included about six or seven hundred of the *jeunesse*, two hundred dragoons, and detachments of the national guard of three loyal sections. It was accompanied by the deputies Vernier and Courtois.

These are a few examples of the manner in which Tønnesson has refined and amplified the history of the Thermidorian reaction. There will have to be some scratching and scribbling on lecture notes. One criticism is perhaps a matter of personal taste. Not infrequently a vital part of the author's argument is lost in the notes among citations of sources, which weakens his case considerably. Otherwise, this is an extremely rewarding book.

University of Illinois

J. B. SIRICH

PORTUGUESE AFRICA. By *James Duffy*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 389. \$6.75.)

Mr. Duffy's well-written history of Angola and Mozambique is one of the most rewarding contributions to Africana in recent years. This is partly because it is the only good volume in English on the subject and partly because the author, while presenting both the pros and cons of Portuguese policy, does not hesitate to express his own modest but forceful judgments and conclusions. His book should command respect even in Portugal where its adverse criticisms are bound to arouse many a patriotic reaction.

The author begins with the sixteenth-century Portuguese experiment on the southern bank of the Congo which brought forth King Manuel's remarkable *regimento*, an enlightened set of instructions often interpreted as one of the theoretical cornerstones of Portuguese colonial policy. In practice, unfortunately, the Congo experiment proved to be one of the earliest of a long succession of Portuguese failures. Duffy's next two chapters trace the early history of Mozambique and Angola where promising starts also declined into "a protracted state of neglect and confusion." After three hundred years of such abortive efforts, the Portuguese impact on Africa amounted to little more than the devastation wrought by a massive slave trade, a considerable number of "moldering fortresses," and the "scarcely visible vestiges of missionary work."

Four stimulating chapters describe missionary endeavors, slavery and contract

labor, David Livingstone's relations with the Portuguese, and the international rivalries of the late nineteenth century. Although Portuguese emotions were so aroused that the students in Lisbon took an oath to die in the defense of Africa, Portugal's reputation as a colonial power was so bad that it was fortunate to hold on to Angola and Mozambique.

The last third of the book covers in greater detail the period since 1890. Among its high lights is a graphic portrait of Antonio Enes, royal commissioner of Mozambique in 1894-1895, and the remarkable group of military officers associated with him. This group, whose names read like "an honor roll of Portuguese colonial history," brought Portuguese policy out of the romantic realm into the practical. Duffy's admirable summaries of some of the classics of Portuguese colonial thought written by these men are most useful.

In his concluding chapters on the mystique, administration, and native policy of Portuguese Premier Salazar's "New State" in Africa, the author's analysis is penetrating and provocative. He gives the Portuguese full credit for their easy-going racial attitudes and for their economic development achievements in Angola and Mozambique since World War II. On balance, however, these faint praises do little to soften his severe indictment of a colonial policy that leaves Africans in ignorance and isolation.

Readers should not overlook Duffy's footnotes in which he has buried much information at the end of the volume. The footnotes on his "Introduction" are longer than the "Introduction" itself; they include an account of the predominance of diamond mining in the economy of Angola and a brief sketch of the notable Benguela transcontinental railway. They also reveal the wide range of hard to obtain Portuguese source materials uncovered by the author.

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VERNON MCKAY

PIERRE BAYLE, LE PHILOSOPHE DE ROTTERDAM: ÉTUDES ET DOCUMENTS. Published under the direction of *Paul Dibon*. [Publications de l'Institut Français d'Amsterdam, Maison Descartes, Number 3.] (Amsterdam: Elsevier Publishing Company. 1959. Pp. xix, 255. Glds. 25.)

THIS volume, commemorating the 250th anniversary of Pierre Bayle's death in 1706, contains nine essays in addition to an introduction by M. Dibon. Bayle, the son of a French Protestant pastor, was teaching in the seminary at Sedan until it was closed in 1681. He then removed to Rotterdam where he became a professor in the École Illustre. He remained there until 1693 when he was dismissed by the Calvinist consistory, largely because of the attacks made by his highly orthodox colleague, Pierre Jurieu. Bayle had already published a number of works that seemed to question some generally accepted religious beliefs. His attack on the superstition that comets were bearers of bad tidings from on high

appeared in 1682, and four years later came his famous defense of toleration. The first edition of the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* appeared in 1697.

The present essays—three of them in English—are of varying value, and at times seem in disagreement. There is a useful account of “Pierre Bayle à Rotterdam” by the director of the Amsterdam Archives. Several of the essays examine the influence on Bayle of Spinoza, Descartes, and Malebranche. Bayle’s relation to John Locke is discussed by P. J. S. Whitmore, who declares that Locke was fundamentally religious and that Bayle was not. R. Shackleton of Oxford University furnishes an excellent brief account of Bayle’s influence on Montesquieu. Two satisfying contributions are made by Elisabeth R. Labrousse, who is at work on a fuller collection of Bayle’s letters than any yet published. She discusses the character and wide influence of his periodical *Les Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, making considerable use of unpublished letters. R. H. Popkin furnishes an interpretation of Bayle’s place in seventeenth-century skepticism, where his relation to the current Pyrrhonism is fully examined. All the essays, save that of Dibon, are abundantly documented.

The most surprising contribution is the forthright “keynote” essay by Dibon on the “Redécouverte de Bayle,” in which he asserts that Bayle was not a skeptic after all, that to call him such is to make “un mythe de Bayle.” Dibon largely blames the reviewer’s *Bayle the Sceptic* for nullifying the efforts to make Bayle into a “man of faith,” which had been the viewpoint of Mlle. Serrurier’s *Pierre Bayle en Hollande* (1913). Dibon writes: “Malheureusement en 1931, Howard Robinson dans son livre *Bayle the Sceptic* l’empêcha de porter ses fruits en parlant de l’impossible tâche tentée par Mademoiselle Serrurier de faire de Bayle un homme de foi. Il donna donc une version plus ou moins rajeunie de Bayle ‘philosophe.’” Dibon, on the contrary, holds that Bayle was a faithful member of the Reformed Church, that “la fond de sa pensée n’est ni plus ni moins qu’un fidéisme”—in short, that he was a believing Calvinist, “froid mais sincère.” This view of Bayle as a “fidéist” seems to be held by Popkin as well, but most of the other contributors ignore this “rediscovery,” or regard it as unimportant.

Oberlin, Ohio

HOWARD ROBINSON

MATTHIAS ERZBERGER AND THE DILEMMA OF GERMAN DEMOCRACY. By *Klaus Epstein*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 473. \$10.00.)

IF there was any doubt about Matthias Erzberger’s crucial role in the last crisis of the German imperial system, Klaus Epstein has dispelled it. Although Erzberger’s footing in the leading circles of the Catholic Center was none too secure, this maverick politician led his party into the collaboration with Progressives and majority Socialists that provided the political basis of the Weimar Republic. He broke radically from his own extreme annexationist views to sponsor the Reichs-

tag Peace Resolution of July 1917—not out of moral principle, as Epstein shows, but out of realism and political prudence. He shouldered the political onus of signing and administering the armistice agreement, and courageously advocated acceptance of the terms of the Versailles Treaty. In so doing, he brought upon himself the most violent political assaults from the nationalist right, assaults that found their madly logical conclusion in his assassination.

Erzberger's realism and capacity for political adjustment led him into changes of course more drastic than most politicians can survive. He paid the price in historical reputation. Inevitably, his biographer must weigh the charges of speculation, careerism, instability, and treason that Erzberger's enemies leveled against him. Epstein rejoices in this task. His vigorous investigations in a wide range of sources (including the Erzberger papers) enable him to construct a critical and fair refutation of Erzberger's detractors. Confronted by the problem of cutting through slander to the truth, Epstein is led to define his own role in somewhat Tacitean fashion: to evaluate the achievement and political personality of his protagonist, to render a judgment. Utilizing the criteria of a political realist, enlarged (not unfairly) by the wisdom of historical hindsight and (less uniformly) by ethical commitments to constitutionalism and the nation, Epstein's findings fully sustain his final judgment: that Erzberger, though lacking genius, was neither as slippery nor as self-seeking as his detractors have painted him, and that his vision at crucial moments, combined with a willingness to assume unpleasant responsibility, gave him a central role in shaping the Weimar Republic.

Epstein's stern concentration upon narration and evaluation leaves him less strong in another area of the historian's responsibility: explanation. Erzberger was, after all, a deputy of the Center, the party which, more than any other, spanned the bands of the German social and political spectrum. The tensions in German politics were recorded almost barometrically in leadership changes and/or in the policy of the Center. Erzberger's political existence was both shaped and circumscribed by this party. Are not his rapid shifts in interest and commitment, his hummingbird flights from trade-unionist to capitalist, from parliamentarian to diplomatic agent, from constitutionalist to defender of the Center's coalition with the Conservatives to be explained at least partly in terms of the external position and internal politics of the Center party? In what other party would such changes of direction have been possible? Epstein rarely enters upon analysis of the Center party, and then he tends to focus only upon the leading personalities as they come into direct relations with Erzberger. He gives us little feeling for the political structure and sociology of this all-important institutional matrix of his protagonist's career. I feel that he has missed an opportunity here to clarify both the erratic vagaries of Erzberger's political life and the political basis for his boldest and most creative political strokes. Nowhere in times of crisis were German politics more open ended and flexible than in the Center party; nowhere was there a temperament more suited to capitalize on flexibility than Erzberger's.

Epstein's able political portrait shows his subject as a gifted political realist

with some inexplicable quixotic traits. A deeper investigation of the unstable compound which was the Center party might have resolved some of Erzberger's contradictions historically, and enabled the author to elevate Erzberger's persona—half political genius, half Vicar of Bray—into a comprehensive symbol of the frustrating yet dynamic politics of the moribund German Empire. Epstein's admirable scholarly biography fully accomplishes its own objectives. In so doing it opens the road beyond the criteria of political realism to a new level of historical investigation and understanding.

Wesleyan University

CARL E. SCHORSKE

VIE ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE DE ROME DANS LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XVI^e SIÈCLE. Volume II. By *Jean Delumeau*. [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Number 184.] (Paris: E. de Boccard, Éditeur. 1959. Pp. 522–1038.)

THE first volume of this work was reviewed in this periodical in July 1958. In the second volume the author continues his study of the grain problem and devotes the remainder of the book to financial problems of the papal government in sixteenth-century Rome. The preface of the first volume is balanced by the conclusion of the second. The combination of these two sections provide an encouraging introduction to the whole work. Ample assistance is afforded the reader interested in matters to which Ranke and Pastor give but pages. Here is the procession of manuscript sources led by the unfailing *avvisi*, which the well-known reports of the Venetian ambassadors occasionally supplement. The bibliography is by chapters, and the chapters are so analyzed in the table of contents as to serve as an index of subjects. The illustrations in this second volume are mostly diagrams and graphs.

The popes of the Counter Reformation are presented in these volumes not against the familiar picture of the Lutheran and Reformed leaders, but against one of recovery from the sack of 1527, inundations of the Tiber in 1530, 1557, and 1598, and impending financial disaster, brigandage, and famine. Papal finance is a field in which, as Ranke said long ago, the papal system is important not only as regards the Roman state but also because of the example it furnished to all Europe. If the system gives the impression of robbing Peter to pay Paul, it nevertheless resulted in the famous treasure of Sixtus V, of which François Cacaault, the French envoy in 1793, claimed that a million crowns (*écus*) remained in the Vatican. Rome became a city where capital could be invested to advantage, although popes made little effort to promote industries other than those connected with building; and agriculture was hampered by the banditry that Sixtus V suppressed (only temporarily, as events proved) and by the development of pasture due to the growing demand in Rome for meat products. Moreover, the population of the city was increased by the influx of peasants who had given up the struggle with taxes, malaria, and robber bands. Rome, instead of

exporting grain, had to import it; and the more difficult it became to feed her, the more the popes had to contend with municipal authorities. As to the rise in prices, the whole series of account books of great Roman families, of hospitals and convents, so complete for Florence, for instance, are lacking for Rome in this period. But pontifical finances, in spite of the rise in revenue being greater than the rise in prices between 1510 and 1565, were really not in better shape at the end of the sixteenth century because of the expense of frequent conclaves.

To the system of floating loans to handle the public debt, M. Delumeau devotes forty pages. These *monti* he is at pains to explain. A *monte* was the amount needed for a papal project (e.g., war with the Turks and the Barbary pirates), and shares in it (*luoghi di monte*) were purchased, the interest being secured on a designated tax. This is not unfamiliar ground, but the author essays a list of *monti* floated by popes between 1560 and 1605, some of which were for a needy baronial family, secured on the baronial revenue and guaranteed by the pope.

University of Idaho

FREDERIC C. CHURCH

ROMA DA MAZZINI A PIO IX: RICERCHE SULLA RESTAURAZIONE PAPALE DEL 1849-1850. By *Alberto M. Ghisalberti*. [L'Età del Risorgimento, Studi e Testi, a cura delle Scuole di Storia del Risorgimento delle Università di Roma e di Palermo, Number 1.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1958. Pp. vii, 291. L. 1,500.)

PROFESSOR Ghisalberti's most recent study examines the diplomatic and political drama that held the center of the stage in Rome—Gaeta from the fall of the republic in July 1849 to the return of Pio Nono to the chair of Saint Peter eight months later. In the drama characterized by chaos compounded by confusion the author slowly untangles the twisted political and diplomatic skeins to put the roles of the major protagonists—France, Austria, Spain, Naples, and the Papal States—as well as those of the minor protagonists—Piedmont and Tuscany—in their proper perspective. Drawing from the papers of A. de Liedekirke, the Netherlands' representative to the Roman government, the writer brings into play the acute analyses of this skilled observer, a new font of information on the subject, investigated in part by Ghisalberti in his *Rapporti delle cose di Roma, 1848-49*, published a decade ago. Liedekirke's reports, the correspondence of the Marquis Spinola, Piedmont's representative in Rome, and the interesting reports sent to Paris by Rayneval are only a part of the new and near-new material brought to bear on the question.

Among the many exciting facets of the problem placed in their proper settings by the author, the story of the French in Rome impressed this reviewer most. The interplay involving Drouyn de Lhuys, Oudinot, Ferdinand de Lesseps, and Rostolan, set against the backdrop of French "court" intrigue, and the rather sickening portrait of French diplomacy at its nadir, as these affected the events

in Rome, is handled with consummate skill. Ghisalberti's treatment of these issues may be too conservative and too reserved for some of us, but the underplaying lends tremendous strength to his analysis. In his portrayal of the roles of the cardinals as reflecting the will of the papal court in the political affairs of the crisis period, the writer reveals an intimate knowledge of the personalities, the *sine qua non* for a judgment of their attitudes and positions. In this issue, however, it might be fairly stated that the figure of Cardinal Antonelli emerges somewhat improved as a statesman—perhaps too much so. Ghisalberti's conclusion that nothing, not even a return to the constitutionalism of 1848, could turn the clock back successfully; that the Papal States of a day now passed, like the republic of the Doges of a previous century, could not possibly survive in the new age characterized by a new set of values labeled "liberal," is unquestionably just and exceedingly sound.

This book, the first volume of a new series dedicated to the study of the *risorgimento* and under the general direction of the author, launches the new venture auspiciously. Ghisalberti's study is to be recommended to students of the *risorgimento* as a contribution of the first order.

University of Mississippi

GEORGE A. CARBONE

FROM FLORENCE TO BREST (1439-1596). By *Oscar Halecki*. [Printed as manuscript in connection with Volume V, 1959, of the *Sacrum Poloniae Millenium*.] (New York: Fordham University Press. 1958. Pp. 444. \$6.00.)

THIS recent work of Professor Oscar Halecki was written in preparation for the celebration of the millenary anniversary of Poland's Christianization in 1963. The studies published in the above-mentioned collection show the role which Poland has played in the religious life of Europe. It was thus natural that the attempt at the Union of the Orthodox in Poland-Lithuania with Rome, made in 1596 at Brest, should attract the special attention of the well-known Polish-American scholar, a specialist in the Jagellonian period of Polish-Lithuanian history.

In order to show that the Union of Brest was a revival of the Union concluded at Florence in 1439, the author studies first the traces which the Union of Florence, rejected by the Muscovite Grand Duke Ivan III, although Isidor, the metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russia, had accepted it, had left among the Orthodox in Lithuania and Poland. Then he studies the implications that the political Union of Lublin (1569), which consolidated the ties between Poland and Lithuania and added almost the whole of the Ukraine to Poland, had in religious matters. It created among the Orthodox hierarchy a movement for union with the Latins, a movement that was welcomed and encouraged by the king, who hoped to stop in this way the attraction of Muscovite Russia, whose ruler had proclaimed himself among his Orthodox subjects the protector of Orthodoxy. The slow origin

and growth of the idea of a religious union is reviewed in detail in five chapters in the third part. The last part is devoted to a minute description of all negotiations preceding, accompanying, and following the conclusion of the Union of Brest.

The author did extensive research in the archives and libraries of the Vatican, in Venice, and in other centers, collecting considerable new material, which he used profitably in his book. Unfortunately, he found almost no new material on the period from 1439 to 1500. The author brings out interesting details on the metropolitans of Kiev, who fluctuated between Rome and Constantinople, but the general picture of this period by A. Ammann in his *Abriss der ostslavischen Kirchengeschichte* (Vienna, 1950) remains almost unchanged.

The chapter on the Union of Lublin will be welcomed by scholars not familiar with Polish, for here the author recapitulates his ideas on this Union. These ideas were originally propounded in his Polish works, which are considered by some critics as too optimistic concerning the role of the Jagellonian commonwealth in European history. The origins and the consequences of the Union of Brest are described in minute detail, and the new material that the author has been able to accumulate throws more light on many details of the negotiations. It is not the author's fault, in this serious and well-documented research, that the new material did not contain any sensational discoveries. At least the Polish point of view is clearly explained and defended.

There are naturally some details open to criticism. The author, for example, stresses the influence that some Protestant circles had on the anti-unionist attitude of the most important leader of the Orthodox Ukrainians, Prince Ostrogski. This seems new, but it is perhaps overemphasized. It is true that the Orthodox, in their opposition to the Union, were looking for support among the Polish Protestants, but the fact that the opposition came mostly from the confraternities of laymen who cannot be accused of Protestant sympathies seems to indicate that the opposition had deeper roots.

Washington, D. C.

FRANCIS DVORNIK

Far Eastern History

CHINA: CONFUCIAN AND COMMUNIST. By *Helmut G. Callis*. [Holt-Dryden Book.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. c. 1959. Pp. xiii, 562. \$6.50.)

THIS is an interesting and useful supplement to the existing Chinese history textbooks. It is divided into four parts: "China and Its Traditional Society," "Chinese History from the Golden to Atomic Age," "Communist China and Its International Relations," "Documents, Chronology and Bibliography."

In Part I Professor Callis presents an able analysis of China's traditional society

in an informal but forceful style. His pages on Communist China are also informative, objective, stimulating, and so up to date as to include the Tibetan incident in April 1959.

Part II is relatively weak and too brief. It seems to be a hasty compilation of tales drawn from books written decades ago and accepted without skepticism, such as, "this tyrant named Kie [instead of Chieh] was finally overthrown by T'ang" and "Genghis Khan's grandson recruited a thousand engineers from China to attack Western Asia." New translations and new editions of many popular textbooks are not used. Some topics are inadequately treated. Among these are: Chinese civil service examinations, the religious persecutions of 845, Neo-Confucianism, and Chinese music.

Although the presentation of ideas is largely fresh and charming, the book is not without contradictions and misinterpretations. The author predicts, "What was known as Chinese civilization for two thousand years will never be the same again even after the historical death of communism," and then he generalizes, "the past of a nation never dies." Callis demonstrates a lack of understanding of the hierarchical administrative system when he states: "Provinces administered their own revenues, held their own competitive examinations, and performed state functions as a rule without direction or supervision of the higher government."

Some unfounded statements may derive from the gossip of old China hands. Among these are: Emperor Kuang Hsü was "possibly an illegitimate son of the dowager queen"; the custom of women's footbinding was a form of sexual satisfaction; "the abortive Taiping Rebellion had had for China all the negative, destructive aspects of a revolution, without having any of its cleansing, rejuvenating effects"; the Taipings caused the death of "up to 40 million people." Concerning this last statement, S. Wells Williams estimated that only twenty million people were destroyed. There are a number of other errors, both factual and linguistic. Peking was not, for example, the terminus of the Grand Canal. Spoken drama is not "hua chi" but "hua chü."

In spite of these minor flaws, the book is brilliantly written and very sympathetic toward China. It should be a good beginners' textbook, if provided with a long list of errata.

Indiana University

S. Y. TENG

NEHRU: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *Michael Brecher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 682. \$8.50.)

"A BIOGRAPHY of a living statesman can never be entirely satisfactory." Actually, had the author named his valuable book "Twentieth-Century India: A Political History" rather than *Nehru: A Political Biography*, he would have come much nearer to equating his book with its title. In the first third of the work,

covering the years 1889–1920, Nehru hovers on the side lines of Indian politics, owing to his youth. In the middle third, 1920–1947, he remains there, owing to Gandhi. In the final third, since 1947, except in the superior chapter on foreign affairs, the author creates the illusion that Nehru is still in the same position, owing to events almost but not quite beyond his control. Too often in this last section, after a long and constructive discussion of a phase of India's recent history, as, for example, the promulgation of the Indian constitution, the author will literally drag Nehru back into the picture, employing a typical sentence, "Yet Nehru's role was far from unimportant."

Though there can be no doubt that the author is intensely interested in his subject and greatly admires him, it seems a pity that he should, by the frequency with which he repeats it, leave the impression that the Prime Minister of India is chiefly characterized by "vacillation" and "indecision." Perhaps the spectacle of a democratic leader of scholarly bent, who believes that if the means are worthy the ends will take care of themselves, is unusual in this era of decisive, forthright, unthinking power politicians. Nehru's greatness, therefore, despite an initial chapter entitled "Portrait of the Man" and a concluding chapter, "Portrait of a Leader," fails to emerge. This also seems to be the case with Gandhi, whose well-attested saintliness fails to shine through Gandhi, the astute politician, Gandhi, the mass psychologist, and Gandhi, the mentor of Nehru. These detractors, along with the author's penchant for footnotes to anonymity, and his tendency, particularly in the postindependence period, to inject his own opinionated value judgments into the narrative, represent the less attractive aspects of this book.

On the other hand, as a history of modern India since 1920, the work provides a highly readable and at times almost gripping narrative. The author has unquestionably performed a most valuable service to India and to history in sifting through the mass of available source material to set the record straight in this important area of twentieth-century history. He is exemplary in avoiding bias in almost every controversial issue. He supplies documentary evidence, for example, to prove British policy equally if not more responsible than communalism for the partition of India and the violence that followed. Had he waited another year to publish his book in order to take advantage of including trends in India clearly discernible to the reviewer during 1958–1959, he might have altered some of his conclusions concerning the growth of Communist power in India, Hinduism as a source of weakness to India, Chinese-Indian cordiality, Indo-American relations, and the possible disintegration of the Congress party. Recent developments, which appear to damage some of his prognoses from current events, give point to a statement once made at an annual meeting of the American Historical Association by Professor William Langer. "I believe strongly in modern history, and I even subscribe to the concept of recent history, but current history is a contradiction in terms."

Northeastern University

ELMER H. CUTTS

American History

THE METAPHYSICAL FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By
Roland Van Zandt. (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1959. Pp. 269.)

IN an arresting study of some basic premises underlying American historical thought, Roland Van Zandt argues that the eighteenth century foisted upon us a concept of human society as a system consisting of a multiplicity of free, independent, and separate units. Such multiplicity was believed to accord with the order of nature and was therefore "right," while the recognition of a larger unity or collectivity violated natural principles and was therefore "wrong." This concept was linked to the Newtonian idea of the universe, but it was applied pervasively to society and government, and was used to sanction the local as against the central, the agricultural as against the industrial, the private as against the public, and even the scientific as against the political.

The concept was never very realistic, but the discrepancies with reality were not as great as now, when modern times have made a cosmos which is a great "undisclosed, automatic collectivity"—an interdependent one world—and which diverges immeasurably from the eighteenth-century image.

This divergence produces obvious anomalies at the level of international affairs, but Van Zandt is concerned with its more subtle workings in the realm of history, where we have failed to throw off the conceptual mortmain of a cosmology from a universe that no longer exists, if it ever did. Historians have locked themselves into the chamber of Jeffersonian theory, and by pretending to themselves that they deal only in facts, not in philosophy at all, have thrown away the key with which they might let themselves out into the twentieth century.

This searching critique achieves remarkable effectiveness in showing, at a level of tangible detail, how Jefferson's philosophy shaped, and indeed warped, his view of American historical events and his own role in them. Further, it demonstrates forcibly the degree to which we live, unawares, in the shadow of implicit Lockean ideas; Louis Hartz has already written a classic exposition of this truth, but Van Zandt adds a further dimension to it. He also shows a neat and deft technique in exposing historians' use of the pretense that they eschew theory and deal only in "facts," as a device for evading any responsibility for the unstated, invisible theory that always lurks, barricaded, behind their facts.

In some of its most important contentions, however, the book seems to this reviewer unconvincing. Granted the validity of a world view that perceives the collectivity of peoples, it is still not clear what the specifications of history written in the light of such a view would be. Nor can we be sure that by ceasing to be the disciples of Jefferson we would necessarily find an accord with the disciples of Marx. Is the significant level of difficulty in the realization of world collectivity primarily a metaphysical one? A further objection is that Van Zandt vigorously

denies the significance of historians' distinctions between the America of Jefferson and the so-called new America of today, but his argument turns on syllogisms and not on considerations of the specific differentials which virtually all historians have found in the data. Finally, it may be true that popular misconceptions of our history, stemming from the archaic Jeffersonian view of the nature of society, hinder us at the operative level in adjusting to the conditions we confront, but it is very debatable indeed to what extent today's historians are carriers of these misconceptions.

Even readers who challenge his conclusions should admire Van Zandt's prose and should agree that his discussion, which is sometimes brilliant, illuminates a number of important questions. His book deserves attention from students of Jefferson, of the philosophy of history, of the history of American thought, and of the role of history in the social process.

Yale University

DAVID M. POTTER

JOHN PAUL JONES: A SAILOR'S BIOGRAPHY. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. c. 1959. Pp. xxii, 453. \$6.50.)

SEVENTEEN years ago Samuel Eliot Morison went into naval uniform. In the past dozen years he has not only produced twelve substantial volumes of the History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, but has revised two earlier works, collected his scattered essays, and published seven entirely new books, only one of which—*Strategy and Compromise*—is in any way related to his great naval history of World War II. At great nineteenth-century dinners a sherbet would usually be served between gigantic courses to clear the diners' palates for the dishes that lay ahead. In similar fashion Morison has inserted a cooling draught of William Bradford between the naval operations of the Aleutians and those of New Guinea, and has refreshed himself between the Mediterranean and the Battle of the Atlantic by returning to Francis Parkman. Only a prodigious worker could find relaxation from one task by applying himself equally hard in another field, but that is his custom and delight. Now between Leyte and the Philippines operations he has produced a superb eighteenth-century naval biography, which will be long remembered as one of his major works.

John Paul Jones, in this alone resembling Abraham Lincoln, has suffered from his admirers, who have produced an adulatory literature that repels the average reader. Jones, who was a picturesque and dashing type, born a century and a half too early to have been an aviator, became the object of an extraordinary cult. His supposed remains were translated in 1905 from an obscure cemetery in Paris to a tomb in the crypt of the Naval Academy chapel that is our nearest approximation to Napoleon's in the Invalides. His devotees, not content with available records, or too lazy or too incompetent to consult them, invented Jones letters and sayings with a freedom greater than that of a medieval hagiographer. There

have been serious and well-documented studies as well, notably that published by Mr. Lincoln Lorenz in 1943, but the bulk of Jones literature confuses rather than instructs the reader. We can thus only be grateful to Morison for having turned naval Bollandist long enough to set the record straight with this "sailor's biography."

From a singular tangle of events, Morison has achieved a clear narrative that makes the unlikely sequences of Jones's life intelligible. It is easy enough to see how the barefoot son of a Scottish gardener might enter the British merchant marine and the slave trade. It is more difficult to fathom how, after changing his name while a fugitive from justice, he became the most conspicuous naval hero of the American Revolution, a distinguished figure in the Paris of Louis XVI, and finally Kontradmiral Pavel Ivanovich Jones in the navy of Catherine the Great. Morison presents in his inimitable style the best explanations yet offered. In addition he deflates the nonsense of Jones's idolaters, turns up new evidence, describes the great fight of *Bonhomme Richard* and HMS *Serapis* with remarkable clarity, and brings to the discussion of Jones's career an unrivaled knowledge of naval history from the fifteenth century to the twentieth. In the light of the analogies he suggests, Jones becomes a more intelligible, if not a more admirable character. In concluding that, as a colossal egotist, "Paul Jones was never deeply interested in anybody except Paul Jones, or in anything except a navy as a projection of his talents and expectations," Morison does not fall into the pattern of the debunker, but remains thoroughly aware of the virtues of his subject. This is a remarkable biography, as valuable as it is fascinating.

Boston Athenæum

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

THE ANATOMY OF AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE, 1840-1861. By Carl Bode. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. xxi, 292. \$6.00.)

THE pre-Civil War period is a fascinating field for writers interested in the social and cultural history of the United States. E. Douglas Branch, *The Sentimental Years*, Meade Minnigerode, *The Fabulous Forties*, and Fred L. Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties*, have examined various aspects of the three colorful and vital decades before the Civil War. Now Carl Bode has produced a fresh study of these years. Much of the factual content of his book can be found in the works just mentioned, but he has a different and interesting perspective from which to examine the period.

Bode views these last decades of the Middle Period as an era in which a clearly defined American culture had emerged and was beginning to mature. From the vantage point of a century further on in time, he seeks to show the outstanding traits which distinguished this culture. The reader, aided by an

occasional assist from the author, can easily make his own comparison of early nineteenth-century cultural status with that of today.

"An Aside to the Reader," at the beginning of the book, outlines Bode's main argument. He sees in the America of the 1840's and 1850's four sets of qualities: a love of country that varied from chauvinistic devotion to a more or less reluctant conviction of the superiority of things European; an aggressive spirit, optimistic, restless, emphasizing the importance of material success; a deep religiosity manifesting itself in reverence for the Bible, piety, the prevalence of a code of Puritan morals, and a widespread humanitarian zeal for reform; an equally deep vein of romanticism, which revealed itself in varied forms of sentimentality and an abiding interest in love, whether familial or that which is involved in the way of a man with a maid.

The author develops his theme carefully and with success. He shows why such plays as *The Drunkard* and *The Lady of Lyons* were popular, he examines the vogue of religious music, and of Stephen Foster and Ole Bull. He seeks to explain the popularity of the Greek revival and the mounting interest in Gothic and Italian architecture. He tells us about the popular interest in landscape and genre painting, and why popular taste approved Powers' "The Greek Slave" and Mills's "Jackson," while it disapproved of Greenough's "Washington." He examines the literary taste of the period, its interest in travel accounts and in biography and history. There is a chapter on the press and public taste.

A book that covers such a wide range in 276 pages can scarcely go into a great deal of detail. Specialists in the various fields treated will be tempted, now and then, to raise the cry of superficiality. But the author's approach is stimulating, he has gone to the sources for his information, he is careful in his judgments, and he has a distinctly readable style. The general reader will find this book fascinating, and it can be used with profit by the teacher of a course in the Middle Period of American history.

University of Rochester

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

CRISIS OF THE HOUSE DIVIDED: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE ISSUES IN THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES. By *Harry V. Jaffa*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1959. Pp. 451. \$6.50.)

THIS book is no mere rehashing of what Lincoln and Douglas said in 1858, but rather a searching and provocative analysis of the issues confronted and the ideas expounded in the great debates. The author is a political scientist in relentless pursuit of the meaning of political rhetoric—both its intended, endemic meaning and its universal significance. He examines the famous rivalry in the light of the contemporary political situation, the earlier affirmations of both men, and the whole tradition of Western thought. It is sometimes difficult, yet never unrewarding, to follow the course of his argument as he ranges from the Dred

Scott decision back to Jefferson, Aristotle, and Plato, or plucks an apt quotation from Winston Churchill or a wise observation from Woodrow Wilson. If he seems to find more meaning in certain words than their authors probably intended, this is perhaps a congenital characteristic of thoughtful exposition. Most of the chapters in the book are grouped under two headings: "The Case for Douglas" and "The Case for Lincoln." The verdict for Lincoln that finally emerges is all the more effective because it comes after full justice is done to Douglas as a statesman of vision and integrity. Douglas, proclaiming his doctrine of popular sovereignty, is in a sense the perfect embodiment of that principle of self-government which Lincoln immortalized in the final phrases of his Gettysburg Address. But Lincoln, as Professor Jaffa points out, conceived of American democracy as something more than government of the people, by the people, and for the people. "It was government of, by, and for a people *dedicated* to a certain proposition." There, it seems, was the fundamental difference between the two men. In criticizing various leading historians, Jaffa is usually persuasive, although sometimes intemperate. It appears, however, that he has failed to consult some authorities who might have altered his questionable views on such subjects as the constitutional theory underpinning popular sovereignty, the role of the Whig party in the Compromise of 1850, and the "enormous bribe of public lands" attached to the English compromise. Yet these and other shortcomings (the lack of a bibliography and the inferiority of the index, for example) detract in only a minor way from the positive virtues of a book which displays such learning and insight that it cannot fail to excite the admiration even of scholars who disagree with its major arguments and conclusions.

Stanford University

D. E. FEHRENBACHER

THADDEUS STEVENS: SCOURGE OF THE SOUTH. By Fawn M. Brodie.
(New York: W. W. Norton and Company. c. 1959. Pp. 448. \$7.50.)

FAWN M. Brodie, well known for her perceptive and intriguing study of the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith (*No Man Knows My History* [1945]), has become the tenth writer to produce a full-length biography of Thaddeus Stevens. Her Stevens biography, though it falls short of the standard she set in her Smith book, is far more sophisticated and satisfying than the last preceding work in the Stevens field, Ralph Korngold's *Thaddeus Stevens, a Being Darkly Wise and Rudely Great* (1955). Mrs. Brodie devotes about three-fourths of her pages to Stevens' Civil War and Reconstruction career. "Thaddeus Stevens' battle for Negro suffrage and Negro schooling have a special timeliness now," she notes, "because he used all three weapons—persuasion, legislation, and force—which are under scrutiny as solutions to the racial problems of our own time." Her retelling of his congressional career, though she stresses its "special timeliness," is likely to disappoint the general reader, for she presents a kind of life and times, in which

Stevens is only the most prominent of many actors, rather than a personal biography with the man vividly realized from page to page as the ever-present protagonist. And this rather general account of wartime and postwar history will fail to interest professional historians very much, for it adds practically nothing to their knowledge of the period. Mrs. Brodie makes a real contribution, however, in the first quarter of her study, which concentrates upon Stevens' private life and personality. Much more thoroughly than previous biographers, she has looked into such matters as his attitude toward his parents, his clubfoot and its influence upon him, his response to stories accusing him of the seduction and murder of a colored servant girl, his role as surrogate father to two of his nephews, and his relationship with his mulatto housekeeper, Lydia Smith. Mrs. Brodie does not shrink from the harshest of facts, nor does she hesitate to draw damning inferences from them. For instance, she finds Stevens in an "ugly" role as a "tyrant parent," dispels all lingering doubts as to Lydia Smith's having been in fact his mistress, and refers to him more than once as a Jekyll-Hyde character. Not that she has written an unsympathetic or unfavorable biography. Quite the contrary. While finding motivation for Stevens' public actions in the hatreds and hungers arising from his private life, Mrs. Brodie wholeheartedly endorses his contributions to the history of his own time and his legacies to the history of ours. Her psychological interpretation is quite at variance with the political interpretation to be found in this reviewer's *Old Thad Stevens* (1942), and she takes issue with that book at certain points, not always stating its point of view quite accurately. Possibly that book overemphasized considerations of personal ambition and partisan politics. Certainly, it seems to this reviewer, Mrs. Brodie's biography pays altogether too little attention to such considerations.

Woman's College, University of North Carolina

RICHARD N. CURRENT

BENJAMIN HARRISON: HOOSIER STATESMAN. FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 1865-1888. By *Harry J. Sievers*. (New York: University Publishers, Inc. c. 1959. Pp. xxi, 502. \$6.00.)

"HARRISON sweats ice-water," remarked a contemporary of our reserved and judicious twenty-third President, and the comment has been widely quoted (though not by Father Sievers) as eminently appropriate. Benjamin Harrison's biographer has achieved an equal degree of detachment. This second of his proposed three-volume study is as well organized and as much the successful product of conscientious work as was its subject. Perhaps, like its subject, it is a little lacking in color.

He who would seek the secrets of political success in the records of the past would do well to scan this careful chronicling of an able lawyer's rise from modest beginnings at the close of the Civil War through state politics to the door of the White House. Harrison's hard work on his cases brought well-deserved

financial rewards, and the juicier aspects of some of his successful ones brought publicity as well. The author makes interesting stories of these scandals, but gives to them, perhaps, disproportionately greater space than to Harrison's budding political interests.

The lucrative law practice and the comfortable security of church and Bible class leadership served as a springboard into politics and as a refuge from an occasional defeat, as, for example, that for governorship in 1876. The fact that Oliver P. Morton regarded the General as a rival proved an obstacle, but upon Morton's death the Republican party in Indiana recognized Harrison as its leader. Friendship with the owner-editor of an Indianapolis newspaper gave him early assurance of boosts for political advancement. His work with Garfield resulted in a solid friendship, but Harrison refused the offer of a cabinet post; he retained instead his newly won senatorship. Senate activities made him no "colorful public figure," yet diligence enhanced his reputation. And his championship of veterans' legislation brought him a reputation as "the soldier's legislator."

Almost six chapters, constituting more than a quarter of the book, are understandably devoted to the presidential campaign of 1888. The author carries Harrison to election through the convention victory, with Blaine's blessing, over John Sherman; through the impeccably judicious comments of Harrison's front-porch campaign; through the charges of enmity to workers and Irish; and through the last-moment "political bomb" involving the celebrated "blocks of five" letter. Some mention is made of money, but one would never suspect from the 119-page account that this campaign has gone down as the most corrupt in American history; nor would one guess what forces were at work beneath the surface or what combination of factors produced the result.

A reviewer of the first volume mentioned the lack of "analysis or interpretation of the various influences" on Harrison (*AHR*, LVIII [Apr. 1953], 648). Volume II is open to the same criticism. Analysis, indeed, either of forces or of individuals, is conspicuously lacking. The politicians with whom Harrison must have worked very closely are but shadows; even Louis Michener, who figures so prominently in the Harrison papers, is identified merely as Harrison's "closest political friend."

Yet, within the limits that the author has set for himself, he has done an able job, and the Arthur Jordan Foundation should be pleased. Sievers has performed a prodigious task in the number of manuscript sets that he has conscientiously examined; the voluminous Harrison set alone is a tremendous undertaking. The bibliography is unimpeachable; the style is simple, clear, and flowing; and the illustrations are an incentive to interest. It is the more to be regretted that Sievers did not have a broader and deeper conception of his task.

Washington, D. C.

MARY R. DEARING

JAMES STEPHEN HOGG: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Robert C. Cotner*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1959. Pp. xxvi, 617. \$7.50.)

THIS is an extended, well-written, fully documented biography of one of the most dynamic governors of Texas. Professor Cotner states that James Stephen Hogg was "a worthy contemporary of the progressive governors, John P. Altgeld, Theodore Roosevelt, and Bob LaFollette." He recognizes, however, the difficulty in attempting to categorize his subject. Hogg was not a Progressive, and even the term "reformer" seems too strong for him. Perhaps to get around this difficulty the author often refers to Hogg as a progressive conservative, "a middle-of-the-roader, leading the 'vital center.'" Woodrow Wilson's description of Hogg as a forerunner of the progressive movement still seems the most apt characterization.

Cotner has done a thorough and painstaking job of research which evidences itself at every point; undoubtedly this volume has been years in preparation. It sheds much light on the history of Texas in the years through which Hogg moved and is filled with brief sketches of scores of others who contributed to the making of that state. Though Hogg's public life is delineated more clearly than his private life, the author has more successfully penetrated Hogg's personality and has conveyed it to his readers more skillfully than is usual in studies of persons primarily of regional fame.

Some recent scholarly comments on Hogg have irritated Cotner. He attempts to correct, for example, the view that Hogg deserted the forces of reform after he made money in oil. This attempt is largely confined to the final chapter and here he does succeed in showing Hogg's continued interest in sensible, liberal causes after he left public life. Yet the total picture emerging from this study tends to reinforce the notion that Hogg never was a "reformer" in the militant sense of the word. Rather, he was an honest, liberal-minded, "respectable" middle-class lawyer, a democrat in the concrete and abstract who believed in law enforcement and effective government. He lived in a period of transition from an agrarian to an industrial era and his "reforms" largely centered around curbing the irresponsibility of corporations—for the most part railroads—and providing protection that the people needed from these new concentrations of economic power, while at the same time preserving a favorable climate for business activity. In this sense he was not reforming or remaking anything, but he was seeking solutions to new problems, solutions which would preserve the political and economic rights of all—businessmen, farmers, laborers, and consumers. His type of leader in the South today is called a "moderate."

That Hogg was an attractive, forceful public figure is a fact that clearly emerges from this study and Cotner's judicious, scholarly treatment will undoubtedly make this the definitive work. The University of Texas Press is to be complimented on having produced an unusually handsome book, marred by a minimum of typographical errors.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

CONFLICT WITHIN THE AFL: A STUDY OF CRAFT VERSUS INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, 1901-1938. By *James O. Morris*. [Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations, Volume X.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University. c. 1958. Pp. xi, 319. \$5.00.)

CHRONOLOGICALLY describing and analyzing the conflict between craft and industrial unionism, Professor Morris begins with developments at the turn of the century and comes to a fitting climax with an account of the civil war between the AF of L and the CIO in the 1930's. Morris is a partisan of the industrial unionists. Perhaps he shades—"loads" would be too strong a word—his story a little in their favor. The successes of the industrially based United Mine Workers and Brewery Workers, though described, are minimized, and more speculation than fact enters into the assessment of craft unionism's responsibility for the failure of the 1919-1920 organizational drive in the steel industry. On the main point, however, the facts are with Morris, and his thesis is irrefutable. Craft unionism simply could not cope with the mass industries; organizing attempts on this basis often proved ludicrous, and with hardly an exception, ended in utter failure. As Morris points out, "there were fewer unions and fewer unionists in the big industries" in the 1920's than there had been in 1900. Not until the thirties were the mass industries brought into the union fold, and when organization finally came, it did so through the industrially oriented CIO and an AF of L radically altered under the pressure of the CIO's challenge. Two questions remain. Could the AF of L, shaped at birth by late nineteenth-century conditions, have abandoned its craft union bias in the first two decades of the twentieth century and become an agent of industrial unionism? And, assuming that in some fashion the AF of L had swung over to the industrial union line, would attempts to organize the mass industries, before the advent of the Great Depression and the New Deal transformed conditions, have met with better success? These questions are fundamental, but they are unanswerable. Happily, Morris attempts no answers. He is a realist, thoroughly informed in the field, and careful in his judgments. If his contrast of the AF of L's futility and the CIO's dramatic success carries some implications of the "might have been," he never pushes his criticisms of Federation policy or suggestions of alternatives beyond the point where the facts give them force and credibility.

Sound, temperate, and solidly documented, Morris' study of the conflict of craft unionism and industrial unionism is not likely to be surpassed in the near future.

Youngstown University

DAVID M. BEHEN

THE ECONOMIC MIND IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. Volumes IV and V, 1918-1933. By *Joseph Dorfman*. (New York: Viking Press. 1959. Pp. x, 398, xi-xxxvi; xxxix-xli, 401-776, xlv-lxxxviii. \$12.50 the set.)

WITH these two volumes Joseph Dorfman concludes his comprehensive study of the history and influence of economic ideas upon American life. In 1949, when he published Volume III, covering the years 1865 to 1918, Dorfman stated that he would "carry the story nearer to our own day, possibly to the beginning of World War II." Now he informs us that he has decided to terminate his synthesis with the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Everyone interested in the history of the 1930's will regret his decision, especially since he excites our interest in the controversies of that decade by saying that the post-1933 era "seems to suggest possibilities of drawing strong parallels and contrasts with the... [early period] when the colonies were faced with the urgency of meeting exigencies of survival and progress." Dorfman's appraisal of these "parallels and contrasts" would satisfy a real need, just as the present volumes tie together and provide a more penetrating understanding of the many complex developments that influenced the course of American life from the armistice of 1918 to the nadir of this country's economic fortunes.

After a brief survey of the reconversion, demobilization, fiscal, and business problems facing the nation in 1918, including a careful examination of the 1920-1921 depression (a beneficial result of which was "the increase in the quality and quantity of business statistics, and... in the use made of these by the business public"), Dorfman proceeds to analyze the economic ideas and practices of the 1920's. Chapter III, "The Spirit of the New Era," is a lucid and discriminating summary of the psychology of optimism and security upon which many of the economic suppositions of these years were founded. These assumptions included such popularly held beliefs that America would suffer from no more severe depressions, that everyone, save those with personal shortcomings, could participate in the ever-growing prosperity, and that if business was left alone it would provide more and more material comforts for everyone. To be sure, there were indications before 1929 that significant weaknesses in the economy were undermining the boom, but most people were convinced that America had discovered the secret of eternal progress. The forebodings of skeptics were ignored or treated as the bitter grumblings of malcontents. Dorfman's analysis of the economic problems of the 1920's includes the opinions of all the major and most of the minor economic writers of the period, not only trained economists and other social scientists, but also those of important business leaders, journalists, reformers, and radicals. The views of these men, as well as the influence of European ideas, are clearly related to the great issues of the day. The numerous advances in economic studies, such as the growing importance of new quantitative techniques, the work of new study centers, such as the National Bureau of Economic Research, and the development and contributions of new professional

schools are all part of Dorfman's story and are carefully integrated into his broader synthesis, the interrelationship of economics and culture. The impact of economic thought upon society and, in turn, the influence of contemporary social currents upon the economists occupy twenty of Dorfman's twenty-five chapters. Here is to be found one of Dorfman's major contributions to the history of the 1920's. No other work covers this ground so thoroughly or so competently. Many of his conclusions are summarized in the chapter "The Legacy of the Twenties," a succinct and penetrating review of the economic profession's advances, interests, and programs for the future. Many of the economic reforms proposed during these years (for example, efforts to promote national planning) were received indifferently or with hostility by a public, including many economists, convinced that the nation's social and material progress would continue without interruption.

Dorfman's study of the 1929-1933 crisis includes a detailed examination of the proposals of professional and "amateur" economists to bring about recovery from a depression which few had anticipated and which most had doubted would occur. As a result, there was at first little unanimity on what should be done. All the old controversies, such as those on monetary and fiscal policies, were resumed, often with much bitterness, while new ones, for example, those concerning the efficacy of public works programs and government spending, were inaugurated, and with considerable asperity. At first the solutions of the professional economists appeared as confused and as inconsistent as those of the "amateurs." But as the crisis deepened and palliatives proved inadequate, various cures were proposed. Organized labor, farmers, businessmen, and bankers all came forward with their own proposals, though the policies each group advocated at this time often had "little sympathy" with the ones they had endorsed earlier. The apparent chaos and lack of consistent programs which seem to characterize the early years of the depression later gave way to a number of common ideas and principles. By 1933 "prevailing opinion" on what was the proper function of government in the economy had changed materially from what it had been before October 1929. At this point, the economic profession, by employing the results of its earlier researches, provided "much of the basic thinking" upon which government officials relied to devise new legislation. In helping to formulate policies designed to alleviate the depression, "the economic profession assumed the most constructive and crucial role ever undertaken since its establishment as a separate discipline."

Like the preceding three volumes, these two are based upon extensive research in manuscript and published sources, a thorough sampling of the secondary literature, and meticulous investigation in scores of articles in professional and trade journals and newspapers, as well as judicious use of much contemporary writing representative of the economic thought of the 1920's. The bibliographic notes attest to the prodigiousness of Dorfman's research. The text indicates the

care, skill, and scrupulous objectivity with which the author has employed his materials. Experts may argue with him about emphasis or certain details, but these volumes will prove indispensable to historians, economists, and all serious students of the years from the end of World War I to the beginning of the New Deal.

New York University

VINCENT P. CAROSSO

THE PRAGMATIC REVOLT IN AMERICAN HISTORY: CARL BECKER AND CHARLES BEARD. By *Cushing Strout*. [The Wallace Notestein Essays, Number 3; Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 182. \$3.50.)

CARL BECKER'S HEAVENLY CITY REVISITED. Edited by *Raymond O. Rockwood*. Studies Resulting from a Symposium Held at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, October 13, 1956, as a Phase of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the New York State Association of European Historians. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1958. Pp. xxxii, 227. \$4.50.)

CARL Becker agreed with Pascal that thought is man's supreme and unique achievement which alone gives dignity to the human species. And he followed Pascal's advice to "endeavor to think well." Because he thought well and because the art of writing was "the most persistent and absorbing interest" of his life, he wrote with such effect that scholars have found him the most challenging and profound thinker in the field of history during the past generation. These two books are additional evidence of that fact.

That by Cushing Strout is an excellent study of the ideas about history held by Becker and Beard. He correctly describes them as the leading American critics who shattered the "scientific" or positivist philosophy of history dominant in America prior to their attacks. After a preliminary chapter, he devotes alternate chapters to each, first analyzing the way in which each pointed out the inescapable limitations of the historian's objectivity. He then examines their historical writings to ascertain the philosophy of history which each substituted for that which had been rejected. Finally, still in separate chapters, he describes the logical difficulties and inconsistencies of these skeptical, pragmatic relativists when confronted with the events of the 1930's and 1940's. Throughout Strout exhibits a clarity and a penetration in thought that entitles him to high praise. It is true that he seems unduly amazed at the failure of Becker to adhere to his relativist views. Becker, more experienced in the study of intellectual behavior, would have been the first to agree and would have admired Strout's analysis of his dilemma. Beard, on the other hand, would have been angered at this excellent demonstration of his inconsistency and of the pathetic and ignoble ending "of one of the most remarkable careers in American intellectual life."

The contrast between *The Pragmatic Revolt* and *Carl Becker's Heavenly City*

Revisited is still another proof that in writing history or historiography the work of one mind is usually more successful than a composite work of many minds. Sixteen scholars, most of them mature and distinguished, participated in this reassessment of the book twenty-five years after its publication, which by common consent is a "classic," a "masterpiece," a "work of art." Stimulating and valuable as it is, the volume does not permit any author to develop his thought in depth, and instead of a sharp focus there is blurring and double exposure. Thus the three hostile essays contradict each other. Guerlac makes what looks like a good case for the thesis that Becker was not sufficiently acquainted with the literature of his subject, while Dorn, even more critical on other grounds, refers to his "sovereign and easy mastery of materials." Both of them disagree with much of Peter Gay's attack.

Among Becker's former students, with the exception of Palmer's perceptive but all too brief contribution, there is a tendency to focus attention on the man rather than on the book. Bruun's eloquent tribute to Becker illuminates the process of true education in the fullest and best sense of the word. University administrators seeking to define and measure the qualities necessary for success in teaching could profit from reading that chapter. Gershoy's essay uses *The Heavenly City* to discuss the same dilemma that Strout considered. With warm human understanding Gershoy explains how Becker reconciled his relativism with a belief in "some generalities that still glitter," his "half that was the child of the generous humanitarian Diderot and the other half that was the pupil of the tough-minded Hume," and "his view that man was no more than a chance deposit on earth—with his predisposition to like 'people who went on behaving as if human ideals mattered.'"

University of Washington

W. STULL HOLT

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1958. By *Richard P. Stebbins*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1959. Pp. x, 479. \$6.00.)

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1958. Edited by *Paul E. Zinner*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 568. \$6.95.)

If 1957 was a year of reduced international tensions, following the Suez and Hungarian crises of 1956, 1958 saw a new upward curve in those tensions. The trend is suggested by a quantitative comparison of *The United States in World Affairs* volumes for 1957 and 1958—the former with seven chapters and 411 pages, the latter with ten chapters and 479 pages. While the first half of 1958 was characterized by relatively nonexplosive issues, such as the competition of "Sputniks" and "Explorers," initiated the previous year, the period from July through December witnessed a succession of dangerous crises—the revolution in Iraq and

the dispatch of American and British troops to Lebanon and Jordan; the Red Chinese bombardment of Quemoy; the Soviet threat to Berlin. Other significant events of the year included the missions to Latin America of Vice-President Richard Nixon and Dr. Milton Eisenhower and the subsequent reappraisal of United States policy in what Mr. Stebbins terms "the Forgotten Hemisphere"; a variety of international conferences, such as those on the law of the sea, on nuclear test detection, and on prevention of surprise attack; the rise to power of General de Gaulle and its meaning for the Algerian question. Among more general trends may be noted the increase in cultural contacts across the iron curtain, the intensification of nationalism in Africa south of the Sahara, the decline of Western influence in the United Nations General Assembly, and the strengthened position of the USSR with its triple threat, political, economic, and military. Of special interest as this review is being written (September 1959) is the analysis of the situation in Laos and its neighbors.

The details of this complicated world picture are presented by Stebbins with clarity and objectivity. Like its predecessors, this volume is indispensable to teachers and students of international affairs and United States foreign policy. It is provided, as were previous volumes in the series, with index, maps, a chronological table for the year, and notes. As indicative of a trend in publishing fashions, it may be remarked that in the 1956 volume the notes were literally footnotes, that in 1957 they were collected at the ends of the respective chapters, and that in the new volume they have all migrated to the rear, where they have fifteen pages to themselves.

Many of the notes refer to items in the other volume appearing at the head of this review, *Documents on American Foreign Relations, 1958*. The nine chapters of this compilation follow an outline roughly similar to that of the companion volume. Nearly a hundred pages contain material on the Near and Middle East. Selection for a publication such as this presents distressing problems and arouses sympathy for the compiler, but one wonders why, in the chapter on the Western Hemisphere, there is no statement of Canada's numerous complaints against United States economic policies and nothing at all on Nixon's South American tour and its repercussions. In this volume it is gratifying to find that footnotes remain footnotes. Both they and the text, however, are almost entirely bare of explanatory material. Hence it would be helpful to have cross references to relevant sections in *The United States in World Affairs*, as was intended when the Council on Foreign Relations took over publication of the valuable *Documents* series in 1952. This procedure was applied in the volume for that year but was thereafter discontinued.

Williamsville, New York

JULIUS W. PRATT

HISTORIA DE LOS PARTIDOS POLÍTICOS PUERTORRIQUEÑOS (1898-1956). Volumes I and II. By *Bolívar Pagán*. (San Juan: Librería Campos. 1959. Pp. 342; 399.)

Dr. Ernest Hopkins, former president of Dartmouth College, once observed in a telegram to George Dern, Franklin D. Roosevelt's first Secretary of War: "There is more politics to the square rod down here [Puerto Rico] than to the square mile at home, even in northern New England, where they take their politics pretty hard." Bolívar Pagán's two-volume study of the political parties of Puerto Rico, in spite of being limited to the bare biography of the political organizations active since the establishment of American sovereignty on the island, offers ample evidence to confirm the observation.

The author in his first paragraphs has carefully delineated the area of his study by excluding any intentions to evaluate the programs of any of the parties under study or to praise or attack any political figures. His primary concern is to record "succinctly, objectively, and realistically" party platforms, party conventions, important political speeches, and the results as reflected in the periodic election returns. A secondary purpose is to annotate the slow legal march toward greater local autonomy produced by the clarification of political aspirations and popular pressure on federal authorities for full political freedom.

Pagán, trained as a lawyer, played a prominent role in island politics as second in command to Santiago Iglesias, founder of the powerful Socialist party, and occupied eventually the important post of Resident Commissioner for the Puerto Rican people in the United States House of Representatives (1940-1944). Because of his prominent position it is to the author's credit that he was able to treat both adversary (like Prudencio Martínez) or colleague (like Iglesias) with equity. Nevertheless in the field of politics where tremendous discrepancy exists between the pure public pronouncement and the ulterior political motivation one would like to read a more open analysis by one so uniquely prepared by experience, as is Pagán. In several places the author expressly refuses to include material that was of vital political importance. For example, in referring to the deprecating comments of Harold Ickes concerning the majority coalition of the insular legislature, Pagán affirms that this "added fuel to the political fires." The reader, however, is left wondering what the Secretary of the Interior might have said. (The coalition had blocked New Deal efforts to break up the island's large sugar estates. Ickes accused the coalition, of which Pagán was a prominent member, of being sugar dominated.) Again, no mention is made of Pagán's last political battle in his struggle against a strong socioeconomic reform movement. On this occasion Resident Commissioner Pagán, facing obvious defeat, provoked the ire of President Roosevelt by suggesting that the elections in Puerto Rico be postponed.

The omission of such material, however, some of which might have been embarrassing for the author to recall, did not prevent the successful realization

of the objectives of the study. Perhaps in another book Pagán will give us the unofficial history of Puerto Rican political parties.

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Mayagüez

THOMAS MATHEWS

CANADIANS IN THE MAKING: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF CANADA.

By *Arthur R. M. Lower*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1958. Pp. xxiv, 475. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Lower begins his book by announcing that it is a pioneering effort to depict the growth of Canada as a whole and throughout its history. He recognizes that social history must rest on a firm foundation of economic history—a field in which he has done some of his most important work. To this reader it seems regrettable that he does not summarize more fully the stories of the fur trade, the timber trade, and kindred topics. The references are there but it is inconvenient to have to refresh one's memory on dates and facts while reading an entertainingly written book such as this. Lower's most original scholarly contributions are his chapters on the growth of population and his tables analyzing not only the number of immigrants coming to Canada from various parts of Europe but also the assimilation of the different nationalities into the group as measured by their command of the English language.

The rest of the book, despite Lower's implied promise to the contrary in his preface, is largely composed of a series of brief biographies and anecdotes drawn from widely scattered sources. They illustrate the lives of the "common men," as well as of a few of the leaders, who helped to build Canada into the nation she now is. The author is to be congratulated on a number of things: his treatment of the French regime and French Canada after the conquest, his avoidance of most of the hackneyed material, and his utilization of illustrations from the less well-known French publications. Some of his biographical sketches are too brief to be very enlightening, unless one is already familiar with the local history of the Canadian provinces.

As is often the case in the writing of social history, many of the generalizations, while interesting, are open to serious debate. There is one extraordinary statement on page twenty-two, after Lower explains that Huguenot companies, chartered by the French crown, made little headway with the work of colonization before 1628, when Huguenots were deprived by Richelieu of the privilege of going to New France. He then leaps to the conclusion that Calvinists were never successful in starting colonies and offers as his explanation that they were businessmen who liked to bet on a sure thing. "Betting on a sure thing does not found empires; that interesting occupation has been left to the vain, frivolous Catholics and Anglicans, romantics whom dull sobriety has not inhibited from indulging in grandiose dreams." Perhaps Lower was thinking of the failure of the Dutch in New Amsterdam, but since, on the previous page, he dwells on the

rapid growth of Massachusetts Bay Colony in contrast to that of the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, one is left wondering how he would define Calvinism. He rightly devotes much space to the influence of sects and creeds in Canadian history, but his generalizations on the subject are, to this reviewer, less convincing than most of his other conclusions.

Such flaws in a pioneering work are probably inevitable unless it is confined to a much narrower range than Lower has set for himself. He has covered a great deal of ground and does present a fresh and original picture of much that is unique in the Canadian adventure. If he has his prejudices they are not of the more obvious sort. He does full justice to the contribution of the French Canadians, even as minority groups in the English provinces, and is at pains to explain and justify, on historical grounds, their lack of interest in world affairs. He is also fully conscious of the contribution of other European peoples to the development of western Canada. For him Ontario holds the center of interest, but he has seen Ontario chiefly in relation to the growth of the Dominion as a whole. All things considered, the book makes very good reading.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN TAFT MANNING

THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC IMPACT ON CANADA. By *Hugh G. J. Aitken et al.* [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publications, Number 12.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Center. 1959. Pp. xviii, 176. \$4.50.)

IN recent years the United States has replaced all other nations as the prime foreign factor in Canada's economy. Canadian intellectuals have begun to feel that the economic achievements of the United States have come to shape "the desires and goals" of their countrymen and to realize that much of the nature of the Canadian economy depends upon American import policy. Now several economists have come forward to examine the nature and degree of this American economic impact on Canada.

This small volume consists of seven papers which were delivered and discussed in the 1958 summer seminar at the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center. The reader does not have the direct benefit of the discussion, but apparently he is able to take advantage of some of it, since three of the speakers have changed at least the printed titles of their addresses from those used in the pre-seminar circulars. The other speakers should have done the same, for in most cases these papers do not address themselves directly to the subject under discussion. One promises to relate "forces and trends to the fears and emotional reactions to which they give rise" and then does not, while another promises to tell us of the impact of the American economy and then contrasts the two economies with little awareness that "contrast" does not make for "impact." Significantly, the authors have accepted the basic assumptions of H. A. Innis, an economist best known for his historical works.

The addresses contain much that is good. Hugh G. J. Aitken presents a lucid summary of "The Changing Structure of the Canadian Economy with Particular Reference to the Influence of the United States." He shows how the United States has helped perpetuate Canada's status as a staple producing nation and discusses the pulp and paper, nickel, petroleum, and natural gas industries, dealing out an excellent refutation of American arguments for import restrictions as he does so. W. A. Mackintosh, writing on "Canadian Economic Policy from 1945 to 1957—Origins and Influences," while somewhat repetitive, gives us a good summary of legislation. Irving Brecher's "The Flow of United States Investment Funds into Canada since World War II" is very nearly a model for such an address. In "The Impact of United States Farm Policy on Canadian Agriculture," Clarence L. Barber has written a graceless but informative essay and has dealt effectively with the American "fair historical share" policy. In examining "The Influence of American Labor Organizations and Policies on Canadian Labor," Eugene Forsey makes a strong case for Canadian independence in the labor field, and he anticipates most of the questions that an American audience would ask him. The only subject which seems to be omitted from this collection is the Canadian exchange rate, and this is remedied by Leland B. Yeager in *Current Economic Comment* (II [Nov. 1958], 39-54).

All of the papers underscore the Canadian awareness that, as W. A. Mackintosh writes, "we cannot live without the American economy and we are never likely to be able to live in uninterrupted comfort or complacency with it."

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

CATHOLICISM, NATIONALISM, AND DEMOCRACY IN ARGENTINA.

By John J. Kennedy. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 219. \$4.75.)

In his "Foreword" Dr. Kennedy, associate professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, states that the purpose of this study is to trace the main outlines of "Argentine social and political thought that can be called Catholic," from 1810 to the end of the Perón regime. Kennedy's treatment of the major trends in Argentine Catholic thought prior to Perón is excellent. The ideas of Facundo Zuviría, Félix Frías, Fray Mamerto Esquiú, José Manuel Estrada, Bishop Miguel de Andrea, and Monseñor Gustavo Franceschi are succinctly presented against a background of the pertinent political events of their time.

One might wish that Kennedy had consulted the six-volume *Asambleas constituyentes argentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1937-39), expertly edited by Emilio Ravignani, and had relied less heavily on Juan Casiello's *Iglesia y Estado en la Argentina*. The author of the foreword to Casiello's book is Antonio Cardinal Caggiano, recently appointed archbishop of Buenos Aires and primate of Argen-

tina. As might be expected, Casiello's views are consistently sympathetic to the Church's position. Also, had the author probed deeper he would have found that in addition to Sarmiento, there were eleven other Freemasons who had "not been considered ineligible for the Presidency," namely, Urquiza, Derqui, Mitre, Juárez Celman, Pellegrini, Quintana, Figueroa Alcorta, R. Saenz Peña, De la Plaza, Irigoyen, and Justo.

Kennedy's treatment of church-state relations during the Perón period is rather uneven. He has performed a useful service in pointing out, concerning the Pastoral Letters issued during the 1946 election campaign, that: "The criteria enunciated were the same that the bishops had begun to stress fifteen years earlier. In 1946 it was alleged that they favored the Peronistas. Eight years later the Peronistas were complaining that the same criteria discriminated against them." It is well to be reminded of these points, but Kennedy apparently also needs to be reminded of the effect of the presence of Church dignitaries at Peronista political gatherings, and of the election on the Peronista ticket of a Catholic priest, Padre Virgilio Filippo, in the 1948 elections for the National Chamber of Deputies.

Despite the above shortcomings, and others that will be readily apparent to Argentine specialists, Kennedy's study is a useful contribution to the shelf of Argentine studies. This reviewer would welcome a similar study of Catholic thought in Argentina's neighbor, Chile, where Argentine exiles participated in intellectual and political activities during the past century.

Arlington, Virginia

JOSEPH R. BARAGER

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

Books

General History

MAN AND CRISIS. By *José Ortega y Gasset*. Translated from the Spanish by *Mildred Adams*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. 1958. Pp. 217. \$4.50.) This work may be taken to represent Ortega y Gasset's philosophical testament. In it he uses the philosophical principles he established in the last thirty years of his life to answer what is to him the fundamental question of history, "How, when and why does life change?" The answer is found in two concepts—"generation" and "crisis." Life changes because events have different meanings for the young, the mature, and the old. "Thanks to this disequilibrium history moves and flows." This movement is normally smooth and quiet, involving no change in the skeleton framework of the world. But at intervals the skeleton itself collapses and man returns to a state of not knowing what to do because he no longer knows what to think about the world. This is a historical crisis which ends with the establishment of a new faith. There have been two such crises in the life of Western man. The first occurred in the ancient world and ended with the acceptance of the Christian revelation. The second began in the fifteenth century and ended with Galileo, when "nature surrendered to physico-mathematical reason." (The Spanish title of this book is *En torno a Galileo*.) There are signs that modern man is entering a new crisis. Ortega y Gasset believes that we may learn from the previous two. "Life does not tolerate being supplanted either by revealed faith or by pure reason." What then is to be done? "Life itself is today organizing itself, reclaiming its empire—that is to say vital reason." But vital reason is historical reason. "Man makes history because, faced with a future that is not in his hands, he finds that the only thing that he has, that he possesses, is his past. Of this alone he can make use; this is the small ship in which he sets sail towards the unquiet future that lies ahead." This bald sketch does little justice to the brilliant style, apparent in translation, and the complex structure of the work. Historians are likely to be most interested in his comments on the development of Christian thought and his interpretation of the Renaissance. But whether they be interested in his philosophy or his history, those who found Ortega y Gasset stimulating or provoking in the past will still find him so at the close of his distinguished career.

University of Western Ontario

WALTER BALDERSTON

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS IN THE DEMOCRATIC CREED: AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ETHICS. By *Ursula M. von Eckardt*. With an introduction by *Carl J. Friedrich*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1959. Pp. xvi, 414. \$4.50.) This book contains little of interest to historians, except those concerned with the history of social and political philosophies. Apparently none but printed sources have been consulted, and they are often cited from secondary works or anthologies. Herbert Ganter's article is not mentioned; and it is doubtful whether the author adds much to what Carl Becker, Adrienne Koch, and Howard Mumford Jones have said. After analyzing

the political philosophy of Jefferson, the author explores the background of writers Jefferson may have utilized. These include Montesquieu, Locke (especially the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*), Burlamaqui, Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, Francis Hutcheson, Destutt de Tracy, Pierre Gassendi, Dugald Stewart, and Francis Bacon. Capsuled synopses of the teachings of these and other writers are given in order to explore "the meaning of the concept of an inalienable human right to the pursuit of happiness which is implicit in the philosophy of government contained in *The Declaration of Independence*." Modern measures derived from the principle by the author include socialized medicine, FEPC legislation, prohibition of wire tapping, prevention of monopoly by the government or private groups of mass communication media, permission of Soviet propaganda through the mails, permission to "the racist, the missionary, and the Marxist . . . to say what they wish [in the public schools] when their views and intentions are clearly labelled." The author then asks whether, in the light of social Darwinism, this philosophy of human rights can provide a standard for modern politics, or whether it is an obsolete anachronism, based solely on eighteenth-century theories now defunct or untenable; in other words, whether Jeffersonianism remains "intellectually as well as morally acceptable in a twentieth-century context." Her answer, to which she devotes two pages, is that she finds a hope in skepticism: It is fallacious to assume "that the contemporary anti-metaphysical metaphysics is 'truer' than the metaphysics of the past, and that, furthermore, the value or genuineness of a political philosophy depends on its consistency with the spirit of its age."

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA. By J. Spencer Trimingham. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. ix, 262. \$4.80.) It might first be stated that Mr. Trimingham has established himself by this and his earlier works as the foremost student of African Islam. Second, it should be asserted for all readers of the *American Historical Review* that his *Islam in West Africa* is, as he says in the preface, not history; rather it is "primarily a phenomenological study of the religious life of West African Muslims." There is a reference to his "forthcoming *History of Islam in West Africa*"—a volume which I am sure will constitute an essential companion piece to this book. In any case the present volume opens with a survey of the geographical and social setting of the West African region and then proceeds to a thorough analysis of the process of religious change in that area. This framework having been established, the rest of the work is devoted to a most detailed account of the practices of Islam in West Africa and of the interactions and combinations of Islam with the various local societies in the region. The final chapter, the most interesting of all to me, is concerned with the impact of Westernism on West African Islam. There are five brief appendixes, a "Glossary-Index of Arabic and African Terms," and an index. The book undoubtedly constitutes a major contribution in the new field of sub-Saharan Islam not only by bringing together the scattered materials already published but also by adding new knowledge based on field work. Naturally a pioneer work of this sort, "embracing such a vast area, inhabited by so many and contrasting peoples," has its limitations, but the absence of sufficient detailed studies rather than omission of materials by Trimingham accounts for this. Personally, I found the author's style dry and difficult, particularly because major generalizations tend to be buried in a welter of detail (except in the last chapter). The book contains a modest number of typographical errors. Sometimes there are near confusions, as on pages eighty-nine and ninety where an exceedingly careful reader is needed to realize that the two mentions of Touba do not refer to the same place. Additional maps would also have been of considerable value. Of greater importance are other questions. There is no estimate at all, either positive or negative, of the role of

the Syro-Lebanese Muslim trading communities which have been established in West Africa for about seventy years. Occasionally, generalizations such as "Islam suits nomads, but being an urban religion does not revolutionize their social and economic life" could stand further elaboration. At other times generalizations such as those on page 202 regarding the revolutionary changes that Africa is undergoing might well be related to the similar process going on all over the non-Western world. It will be a long time before a single volume offers the wealth of material on the subject that *Islam in West Africa* does, but the reader will have to be very well motivated to get through all the detail.

Princeton University

R. B. WINDER

SINKIANG: PAWN OR PIVOT? By *Allen S. Whiting* and *General Sheng Shih-ts'ai*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1958. Pp. xxii, 314. \$5.00.) Dr. Whiting has taken one of the key figures in modern Chinese history, General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, now in retirement in Taiwan, as the subject of a case study of Soviet strategy and tactics in the province of Sinkiang during the years 1933 to 1949. The first part of the book presents an account and analysis of Soviet strategy toward Sinkiang during this period, a "model case study with reference to borderlands adjoining the Soviet Union, from Mongolia to Turkey." This sets the pace for the second part of the book which consists of Sheng's memoirs, the most revealing indication we have of his policies and actions, and a rich documentation of the events leading up to the General's break with Moscow in 1942. The policies of several of the great powers had a bearing on Sinkiang and the author has skillfully brought into focus material on Japanese efforts to penetrate Inner Asia, considerations of Nationalist China's policy, and above all, the general range of Soviet strategy as it applies to Sinkiang. The Soviet Union, says Whiting, was motivated by the twin goals of security and power here, as elsewhere. It was successful in blocking Japanese imperialism in this part of the world, but long after this threat had disappeared the machinations of the Soviet Union continued. "The exploitation of resources, the purging of those who would resist a Russian sphere of influence in China, and the arming of rebellious groups so as to exclude Chungking's authority, all supported a goal of extending Soviet power, not of maintaining Soviet security." The Soviet gains of the thirties disappeared with the German invasion and American backing of Nationalist China and then, finally, Mao Tse-tung took over the whole area. In the second part of the book, the memoirs of the General are a plausible account of his career during this period. They include accounts of interviews with Chinese and Russian Communists, including Stalin, estimates of their motives and techniques, and a detailed blow-by-blow account of the plots and counterplots that led to Sheng's break with Moscow. There is correspondence with Chairman Mao and several useful appendixes. More books of this sort should be written; Taiwan is full of living history.

University of Washington

GEORGE E. TAYLOR

Ancient and Medieval History

AGHIOS KOSMAS: AN EARLY BRONZE AGE SETTLEMENT AND CEMETERY IN ATTICA. By *George E. Mylonas*. With an appendix on the Early Helladic skulls by *J. Lawrence Angel*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 191, 182 plates, 64 drawings. \$20.00.) The site of Aghios Kosmas stands on a small promontory in the Bay of Phaleron close to the modern airport of Athens. It has

been explored over a number of years since 1930 by the author for the Department of Antiquities. Further work in search of the cemeteries was carried out after the war when the airport was under construction and publication was delayed in the hope of discovering the Late Helladic cemetery, but this was not found. The report of the excavation includes two phases of Early Bronze Age houses on the seashore, which were destroyed by fire in the Middle Helladic period. This area was not again occupied until Late Helladic times when additional houses were built in the same place. Two Late Helladic phases of occupation were also found, the latter enclosed by a fortification wall of the Late Helladic IIIC period. Adjoining the neck of land connecting the promontory with the coast lay the Early Bronze Age cemetery belonging to the settlement. Here a number of cist graves with contracted skeletons were uncovered. These graves contained pottery, figurines, obsidian, and stone objects. This well-produced volume gives us for the first time an account of an Early Bronze Age settlement and accompanying cemetery of which few have been found previously in Greece. The occupants appear to be settlers who traded obsidian with the Cyclades. Angel's appendix on the skeletal material reveals them to be a stocky people slightly undernourished, but having reasonably well-founded houses. The Late Helladic settlers, however, looked toward Crete for trade and in addition to their agricultural pursuits extracted dye from murex shells. This volume is another valuable contribution by Dr. Mylonas to the archaeology of Greece and is a source book that should be found in every archaeological library.

Institute of Archaeology, University of London

JOAN DU PLAT TAYLOR

HISTORY OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF HAMBURG-BREMEN. By *Adam of Bremen*. Translated with an introduction and notes by *Francis J. Tschan*. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number 53.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xxxiv, 253. \$6.00.) The *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, here translated from Schmeidler's edition of 1917, was composed by a cathedral canon at Bremen apparently between 1072 and 1075-1076. The series of Bremen prelates commences with the English missionary Willehad (787-789), though the assumption of jurisdiction by the archbishop of Hamburg (848) and papal sanction to the union of Hamburg-Bremen (864) bring St. Anskar's labors in Denmark and Sweden into this story. Adam's major interest, however, centers upon his own archbishop, Adalbert (1043-1072), whose grandiose plans and spectacular fall from power make him one of the dynamic figures of his day. Professor Tschan's translation is smooth, his notes and bibliography full.

Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey

HENRY G. J. BECK

LE JUBILÉ DE SAINT THOMAS BECKET: DU XIII^e AU XV^e SIÈCLE (1220-1470). By *Raymonde Foreville*. [Bibliothèque Générale de l'École pratique des hautes études, VI^e section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1958. Pp. xvii, 242.) Professor Foreville again appears as a foremost medievalist. He succeeds admirably in fitting the jubilees of St. Thomas Becket into the religious and social spheres. With masterly footnotes based on exhaustive searches for sources, Foreville traces the jubilee idea to St. Bernard and to the University of Paris whose student Stephen Langton was so dominant in the first, and great, jubilee of 1220. Following the lesser jubilees of 1270, 1320, and 1370, the author reaches the greatest, 1420, and then the decline, 1470, as he weaves his material into the fabrics of papal policies, indulgences, pilgrimages, Lollard hostility, and English politics. The documents, covering ninety-seven pages, fascinatingly support the book's themes. Illustrations, chronological tables, and indexes are appropriately inserted.

University of Dayton

ERVING E. BEAUREGARD

THE HOUSEHOLD OF EDWARD IV: THE BLACK BOOK AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1478. Edited with introduction, notes and glossary by A. R. Myers. (New York: Barnes and Noble. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 315. \$9.00.) The Black Book, a quasiofficial compilation of rules and regulations for some six hundred officers and servants of Edward IV's household, exhibits the eternal tedium of bureaucracy. It catalogues the King's servants, above and below stairs, and lists their functions and duties, privileges and penalties, wages, seasons of service, and the perquisites and preferments that made the royal establishment the source of patronage. This volume, largely by the cofferer, John Elrington, is as essential for administrative, social, and financial historians as it was necessary for Edward's officers in their constant struggle to balance magnificence with order and liberality with economy. Seldom, however, does anything creep in to alleviate the deadliness of bureaucratic routine and details. Here and there are bits about the "children of the chapel," whose voices changed at eighteen (*sic!*) and who were then assigned to the King's colleges at Oxford or Cambridge; the master of the henchmen and "his schools of urbanity"; the penalty for a "common daily drunken man" in court; and the loss of wine at meals for swearing "by God's body or by any of His other parts unreverently." Similarly, Myers' introduction treats less of persons than of pounds. He explains the importance of the countinghouse in household management. He compares the costs of Henry VI's and Henry VII's establishments with Edward's. Even though the Yorkist's expenses were the lowest, deficit financing was chronic practice despite the reforming ordinances of 1445, 1471, and 1478, the texts of which Myers also includes. Unfortunately, he "of course" retains the original, but obsolete, orthography. However, he provides ample annotation, 465 historical notes and over twelve hundred textual variants for the Black Book alone; and glossaries of English, French, and Latin words, appendixes of data, and a full bibliography, but a thin index, indicate the ghastly labor required to provide the complete editorial apparatus that envelops these texts.

Yale University

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

THE LIFE OF GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA. By Roberto Ridolfi. Translated from the Italian by Cecil Grayson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1959. Pp. x, 325. \$7.50.) Alfred A. Knopf deserves praise for bringing out this English translation of the scholarly biography of Savonarola published by Professor Roberto Ridolfi of the University of Florence on the five hundredth anniversary of the martyr's birth: *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola* (2 vols., Rome, 1952). Though Ridolfi previously had spent two decades editing the national editions of Savonarola's works, he needed Giovanni Papini's prodding to embark on this biography. If a hereditary tie is helpful to a biographer then Ridolfi is doubly fortunate, for he is a direct descendant both of Lorenzo de' Medici and of Giovambattista Ridolfi, one of the standard-bearers of Savonarola's faction. The original edition was greeted in Italy with enthusiastic reviews, as has also been the case with Ridolfi's prize-winning *Vita di Niccolò Machiavelli* (Rome, 1954). His thorough study of the Dominican preacher definitely supersedes the earlier works of Pasquale Villari, Joseph Schnitzer, and others. The author often takes issue with these men—especially with Schnitzer, probably the ablest of them. Most of Ridolfi's excursions are helpful though some border on pedantry. When clear evidence is unavailable he often suggests plausible conjectures regarding the Florentine friar's actions, but he is careful to label these as such. Except for the last chapter, "Portrait," and an appendix, "Summary Account of the Cult and Fortune of Savonarola," the present translation is restricted to the first volume of the original. It omits all the exhaustive documentation that in the original edition was relegated to the second volume. Scholars therefore will have to turn to that volume for the detailed source references. Otherwise, Pro-

fessor Cecil Grayson of Oxford has adhered faithfully and felicitously to the text, bracketing any elucidations of his own. Regrettably a few typographical and grammatical errors have slipped past the proofreaders, e.g., "1940" for "1490," and "than me."
Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

Modern History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

AN INTRODUCTION TO SCOTTISH LEGAL HISTORY. By various authors. With an introduction by *Lord Normand*. [The Stair Society, Volume XX.] (Edinburgh: the Society. 1958. Pp. xviii, 499.) With this volume the Stair Society departs from its usual policy of publishing original documents on the history of Scots law in favor of a collaborative general survey of that subject. There are thirty-four chapters in all, divided among twenty-two contributors; of these, J. Irvine Smith, with five, is the most prolific. There are three sections to the book: a sketch of the general development of Scots law; a series of chapters on various branches of the law, with particular emphasis on family relationships and the law of property; and a series of chapters on the various sorts of courts that have existed in Scotland. It would be pleasant to report that the book is an unqualified success. Unfortunately, it is not, chiefly because it tries to do too much in too brief a space. In this respect the weakest section is the first: it is patently impossible to say much about the general development of the law from David I to the present in sixty-one pages. The second and third sections are much better. The chapters on the courts are particularly valuable to the historian. All of these chapters are of excellent quality; the longest of them, that by A. A. M. Duncan on the central courts before 1532, is really outstanding. This book is admittedly only an introduction to its subject, and this may serve to excuse the brevity of too many of the chapters. It is an indispensable volume for the Scottish historian, and will be of great use to the constitutional historians of other countries who are interested in comparative history. And if it leads to the emergence of a Scottish Holdsworth, as Lord Normand in his introduction hopes it might, it will indeed have served its purpose.

University of Illinois

MAURICE LEE, JR.

HUMAN HISTORY: THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND THE STUART FAMILY. In two volumes. By *Rufus Cole*. (Freeport, Me.: Bond Wheelwright Company. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 636; viii, 658. \$17.50 the set.) When Dr. Rufus Cole retired in 1937 at the age of sixty-five as director of the hospital of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, he began to read history. On becoming acquainted with Dr. John Arbuthnot, physician extraordinary to Queen Anne, he was led back to an intensive study of the seventeenth century. After reading a great many works on this period, which included S. R. Gardiner's definitive volumes, the diaries of Evelyn and Pepys, Macaulay's great history, Sir Winston Churchill's life of his famous ancestor, and many articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Cole conceived the idea that "historians have been interested chiefly in events in which men have played a part. Less attention has been given to the environments in which these events have taken place." To the worthy doctor environment is the most important aspect of history. It was "constantly changing but was never entirely new." "It came to consist not only of material things but also of accumulated experience and knowledge, of ideas, beliefs, and tastes, of governments and religions, and of science, art, and literature." Turning his acquired knowledge with emphasis on "environment" into concrete shape, Cole has produced

two huge volumes written in a forthright, agreeable style without any embellishments. He has dispensed with footnotes and a bibliography, and according to his preface he seems to have had no personal contact with historians, professional or otherwise. In two hundred pages the author introduces his period with particular concentration on the sixteenth century. Then in a thousand pages he presents a history of people and events from James I through Queen Anne. He gives no new interpretations and no new ideas. But at frequent intervals he raises the signpost of "environment" and points it out to his readers. He loves to introduce the "ifs" of history to illustrate his theme. Of course to be true to his conception he has to give detailed accounts of people and events in countries whose history impinges on that of England. Whenever Cole meets an individual of any importance, he digresses with a biographical sketch. In his estimate of the Stuart sovereigns he follows Gardiner with the first two, shows a strong dislike for Charles II, is much too gentle with James II, and follows tradition with William and Mary and Queen Anne. I get the feeling that Cole has at times failed to recognize "environment" in many of the books he has read, and that he has read little published by reputable historians in the immediate past. Had he read more carefully and more widely he might have discovered that others besides himself have considered "environment" important. In fact, Cole is woefully weak when it comes to the constitutional "environment" of the seventeenth century. And unfortunately he frequently slips in his dates, facts, and interpretations. But these two volumes are a splendid achievement of a scientist turned historian who has not had the opportunity to undergo the vital training of a professional.

New York University

HAROLD HULME

FIELD MARSHAL LORD LIGONIER: A STORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY, 1702-1770. By Rex Whitworth. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 422. \$6.75.) Colonel Whitworth has chosen a distinguished chief of staff and a strangely obscure figure, the first Earl Ligonier, as the career through which he studies the administration, politics, and strategy of the army from Queen Anne to George III. Ligonier's military career is indeed a good example to follow as a guide through the intricacies of a neglected period in British military history. This is not a biography in the strict sense of the word, but it does give us the first consecutive story of Ligonier, a Huguenot refugee who succeeded Cumberland as commander in chief in 1757 and became master general of the ordnance in Pitt's war cabinet. He started as a volunteer in the British forces at the age of twenty-two in 1702, the year of his naturalization. Eleven years later he was a colonel and lieutenant governor of Minorca. Defying our generalizations about the relationship between advancement and established connection in the eighteenth-century army, he became a colonel of the Eighth Horse in 1720. He served as lieutenant general with George II at Dettingen, fought at Fontenoy and Rocoux, and went on to the cabinet to become one of the makers of *annus mirabilis*. He died in 1770, at the age of ninety, an earl and a field marshal. Two towns in the United States are named after him as a tribute to his role in the colonial phase of the Seven Years' War. Whitworth bases his book on manuscripts in private collections and on a fresh search of military papers in the British Museum and Public Record Office. He has unfortunately failed to see the significance of much of his material, particularly the valuable data he collected on the administration of the regiments, the office of secretary-at-war, and the post of commander in chief. Material of great administrative interest is modestly and ineffectively interspersed among biographical and military facts of lesser relevance. The biographical material, and Ligonier's was an unusual story, could have been arranged and presented more dramatically. Much of it is lost in the midst of

heavy military detail. But this is a useful book and one to which historians of Georgian administration and strategy will turn with profit.

Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut

GEORGE B. COOPER

ALEXANDER MACONOCHIE OF NORFOLK ISLAND: A STUDY OF A PIONEER IN PENAL REFORM. By *John Vincent Barry*. With a foreword by *Sheldon Glueck*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xxi, 277. \$6.50.) Alexander Maconochie (1787-1860) conducted two experiments in penal reform: one, on an island off the Australian coast; the other, at the Birmingham Borough Prison. As far as the British authorities were concerned, both were resounding failures. This need not surprise, since Maconochie's penal practices and (voluminously expounded) theories were a century ahead of their times. He believed punishment to be not the aim, but the instrument, of penal policy. He held that brutality degraded the society which tolerated it as much as the prisoner. Reform and preparation of the prisoner for his return to society were the proper ends of punishment. These theories were no less startling to British and Australian officials than the accompanying practices: the indeterminate sentence, occupational therapy, group responsibility, prison schooling, and above all a "marks" system enabling prisoners to accumulate good conduct credits toward remission of time. Present-day penologists, Mannheim of London and Glueck of Harvard among them, have long recognized Maconochie as the precursor of modern penal practice, but historians seem to have written him off in largely inaccurate asides. His first biography, written by a distinguished Australian judge, has now remedied this neglect. Mr. Justice Barry has carefully reconstructed Maconochie's official career and has given an account of his theories and their importance in the history of penology. The author's excellent scholarship subdues any skepticism which his uninhibited admiration for his hero must arouse. Past and present detractors are silenced and Maconochie has been raised from comparative obscurity to (almost) the stature of a John Howard.

Harvard University

GEORGE NADEL

CHURCH AND PARLIAMENT: THE RESHAPING OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1828-1860. By *Olive J. Brose*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 239. \$5.00.) This book considers the policy of Parliament toward the Church of England in the light of British opinion during the "age of reform," when strong pressures were at work to break the connection between church and state. The author believes that the connection would hardly exist today but for the action of Parliament and the Ecclesiastical Commission in reforming the polity and finances of the Church. The chief engineers of reform were, in Dr. Brose's opinion, Sir Robert Peel and Bishop Blomfield, but Blomfield is the principal character of the book. In a lengthy exposition of the Bishop's attitude toward abuses in the Church no allusion is made to the seemingly well-founded charge that Blomfield himself was, at least in his early career, addicted to pluralism and nepotism. A note of unconscious humor enters the discussion when impropiators are repeatedly referred to as "impropriators." Dr. Brose has little difficulty in proving, from an examination of the education controversy and Blomfield's part in it, that the Church was losing its national position as a dominant force in society, a position that association with the state had once signified. The result, Dr. Brose contends, was an anomaly that still persists. Perhaps the anomaly is not as great as it once was. The national influence of the Church, formerly authoritarian, has been converted, at least on occasion, into leadership by consent, when the Church acts as spokesman for the entire religious community. That may be one reason why, as recently as 1955, "the consensus of religious opinion, whether Church of England, Dissenting

bodies, or, surprisingly, Roman Catholic, still favored the connection between Church and State."

Washington, D. C.

DONALD O. WAGNER

THE SOUTH WALES COAL INDUSTRY, 1841-1875. By J. H. Morris and L. J. Williams. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 289. 25s.) In this, the first of a proposed two-volume study, the authors analyze the history of the South Wales coal industry during the period of its greatest expansion. The work is a happy combination of economic and social history; such diverse subjects as capital formation and the structure of the industry are blended with problems of safety and social conditions in the mines and mining towns. Although the work contains no real modifications of Clapham's view, South Wales being not atypical of coal mining during the period, a careful study of a specific industry is always a welcome contribution to our knowledge of the economic history of Britain. The South Wales mines were in themselves important as the major source of maritime coals. This work is based primarily on parliamentary papers and numerous local manuscripts. It is to be regretted that it contains no adequate bibliography.

University of South Carolina

CHARLES W. COOLIDGE

DARWIN AND THE GENERAL READER: THE RECEPTION OF DARWIN'S THEORY OF EVOLUTION IN THE BRITISH PERIODICAL PRESS, 1859-1872. By Alvar Ellegård. [Gothenburg Studies in English, Number 8.] (Göteborg: [University of Göteborg.] 1958. Pp. 394. Sw. kr. 28.) This is a study of the reaction to Darwinian evolution as reflected in British periodicals from 1859 to 1872. The impact of Darwinian theories is measured in terms of categories against which reviews and comments in over a hundred periodicals are appraised. Among these categories are: design, miracles, the Bible, species, missing links, natural selection, and the descent of man. An elaborate appendix explains the method employed, identifies the periodicals examined, and summarizes some of the results in statistical form. Dr. Ellegård, reader in English at the University of Göteborg, has executed his task with exemplary care. He has produced a solid monograph conceived in the classical historiographical manner. While the method makes analysis in depth somewhat difficult, there are many judicious comments certain to be helpful to students of nineteenth-century life and thought. This is especially true of the chapter entitled "Mid-Victorian Philosophy of Science," an expansion of an earlier Ellegård essay (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVIII [June-Sept. 1957], 362-93.) Students of intellectual history employing what is substantially a variant of the polling technique are confronted with a quandary: is the readership converted by the media or do the media mirror the views of the readership? Ellegård grapples with the question and does the best that can be done with it. But there is a larger question. In the history of ideas, as in the history of democracy, conversion is an interactive process.

Sarah Lawrence College

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939-1945. Series One (Army). Volume V, SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC AREA—FIRST YEAR, KOKODA TO WAU. By Dudley McCarthy. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; distrib. by Angus and Robertson Ltd., Sydney. 1959. Pp. xiv, 656. 30s.) Though modest by comparison with the official historical programs for World War II in the United States and Great Britain, the Australian program provides just as comprehensive and detailed a survey of that country's role in the war. The difference in the number of volumes between the Australian and American series—twenty-two to well over one hundred for all services—does not reflect

any difference in completeness of coverage or level of treatment but is rather a measure of the total effort of the two countries. Thus, the Australians have allocated four of the seven volumes in their Army series to the war against Japan, a number that compares favorably in terms of total contributions to the twelve-volume Pacific series of the U. S. Army in World War II. It is not surprising, therefore, that both series, the Australians in the present volume and the United States Army in *Victory in Papua*, should devote equal attention to those operations in which the troops of both nations under the command of General MacArthur stemmed the Japanese advance toward Port Moresby in the summer of 1942, thus ending the threat to Australia from the northeast. Having halted the Japanese, Australian and American troops drove on to take Buna, Gona, and Sananda, and to secure the rest of Papua in one of the hardest fought campaigns of the Pacific war. These operations, extending from mid-1942 to early 1943, are of particular importance and interest to Australia, and are related in the greatest detail in the present volume. For the American reader there is little in this account to hold his attention unless he participated in the campaign, as, indeed, many Americans did. But most Americans will find both interesting and profitable the author's unfortunately brief and scattered discussions of MacArthur's command and the activities of his predominantly American staff. From the Australian point of view, the war in the Southwest Pacific was often a different war than that described in MacArthur's communiqués.

Washington, D. C.

LOUIS MORTON

QUEEN'S, BELFAST, 1845-1949: THE HISTORY OF A UNIVERSITY. Volumes I and II. By T. W. Moody and J. C. Beckett. (London: Faber and Faber Ltd. for the Queen's University of Belfast. 1959. Pp. lxxvii, 451; xv, 453-983. 63s. the set.) These two volumes are much more than a history of Queen's, Belfast. They contribute richly to an understanding of the tangled story of university education in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ireland. The two authors, T. W. Moody, professor of modern history at Trinity College, Dublin, and J. C. Beckett, professor of Irish history at Belfast, bring to their task not only a sure knowledge of things academic, but distinguished reputations in modern Irish history. The authors were requested to write this book by the authorities of Queen's, Belfast, and had at their disposal all the university records. In their preface they tell us that they have tried to keep their book free from the character of "official" history and to fulfill their obligations as historians. These things they have done admirably, but the book, despite the largeness of view that dominates it, is also a most detailed record of every step of a great university's history. Here are the faculty, the students, the architecture and buildings, the committees, the library, the search for funds, the curriculum and the influences that played upon it, the relations with other colleges and universities in Ireland and Great Britain. Some of the sketches of the administrators and professors who made Queen's are memorably done. Only a few can be mentioned: the first president, the Reverend Pooley Shuldham Henry, noted for "discretion, moderation, decorum"; the first vice-president, Thomas Andrews, professor of chemistry; Alexander Gordon, dedicated physician and authority on fractures; Albert Ludwig Meissner, stormy and difficult, and for thirty-seven years professor of French and German. The present Queen's University of Belfast is the lineal descendant of the college founded by Sir Robert Peel's government in 1845 as part of a plan for university education in Ireland. The three "Queen's Colleges," at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, were to be nondenominational and nonresidential. In 1850 they all became part of the Queen's University of Ireland, a degree-granting authority. The system set up was unsatisfactory to the Catholic hierarchy, and Cork and Galway did not serve the educational needs of southern Ireland, as Belfast did for Ulster. The resolution of the tangled "Irish universities question" led to the incorporation of Queen's, Belfast,

as a university in 1908. Much of the material in these two volumes is, of course, of special and local interest. The authors, however, have extended their researches to the records of the Irish government prior to 1921, to British parliamentary papers, and to the private papers of British statesmen. To write about Queen's, they had to study Irish university education as a whole. The work they have done is not only a fine example of the balance of the general and the particular; it is an important contribution to the history of Ireland since 1845.

Connecticut College

HELEN F. MULVEY

EUROPE

LES PAYSANS DU NORD PENDANT LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. By *Georges Lefebvre*. (2d ed.; Bari: Editori Laterza. 1959. Pp. xxvii, 923. L. 8,000.) When Georges Lefebvre published this book, his major doctoral thesis, in 1924, he immediately became known as one of the great historians of the French Revolution. At the time only three hundred copies of the book were printed, it became a rarity, and it was never reviewed in this journal. Professor Lefebvre, who recently died at the age of eighty-five, needs no introduction nor does this volume now require extended notice. Lefebvre became the dean of the historians of the Revolution, famed for his scholarship, loved by the many students to whom he gave willing assistance. The book has become a classic. Its economic emphases materially changed interpretations of the early revolutionary period. We are grateful to Armando Saitta and Albert Soboul for this reprinting, which reproduces the original text but does not include the notes, some of the bibliographical material, nor the statistical tables of Volume II.

Washington, D. C.

BCS

THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF P.-J.-B. BUCHEZ. By *Barbara Patricia Petri*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 133. \$1.50.) After a brief biography of Buchez, member of the *Carbonari*, Saint-Simonian and Christian socialist, president of the Assembly of 1848, the author presents a summary of each of his major historical works in chronological order. While the résumés are adequate and occasional comparisons are made with similar systems, they do not succeed in imparting any definable structure to his philosophy of history. Perhaps Buchez really does not deserve a fuller treatment. For those interested in the history of Christian socialism this book may be worth perusing because it does add some personal data from the Buchez manuscripts. The work raises a question, however, as to whether the publication of doctoral dissertations in this form, though meritorious as an academic exercise, is necessarily advisable.

Brandeis University

FRANK E. MANUEL

THE CORRESPONDANT AND THE FOUNDING OF THE FRENCH THIRD REPUBLIC. By *Sister M. Caroline Ann Gimpl*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 239. \$2.50.) This scholarly and well-organized monograph analyzes with clarity and thoroughness the political ideas of a group of liberal Catholic monarchists as expressed in the review *Le Correspondant* from 1870 to 1875, and endeavors to show the influence of their views upon the founding of the Third French Republic. Since they hoped to reconcile many of the liberal ideas of the French Revolution with Catholic doctrine, they were both liberal and conservative. They stressed individual dignity and equality and favored a decentralized, liberal, constitutional monarchy, with a restricted suffrage and representation by interest groups. When Chambord remained intransigent in 1873, they urged provisional acceptance

of the Republic and a strong presidency. The author of the Wallon Amendment was a collaborator of *Le Correspondant*, and the votes of several deputies closely connected with it made possible the passage of the constitutional laws. *Le Correspondant* did not support civil liberties or freedom of education as forcefully as in the past, because of Catholic opposition to liberal ideas after the publication of the *Syllabus*. Occasionally Sister Gimpl, whose sympathies are with the "Catholic liberals," does not distinguish between anticlerical and antireligious attitudes and between the various shades of political opinion on the Left; but her work contributes to our understanding of one segment of the Right in this period.

State University College of Education
New Paltz, New York

EVELYN M. ACOMB

ALBERT THOMAS: TRENTE ANS DE RÉFORMISME SOCIAL. By B. W. Schaper. Preface by Marius Moutet. [Publications on Social History issued by the International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, Volume II.] (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. 1959. Pp. xiii, 381. Fl. 22.) As first director of the International Labor Office from 1919 to his premature death in 1932, Albert Thomas not only breathed life into the ambiguous formal texts that created the ILO at the Peace Conference but shaped it into an important organization commanding universal respect. Thomas already had a full political life behind him when he assumed his new post. A graduate of the École Normale, he had entered politics as a Socialist and had distinguished himself as an editor, writer, mayor, and deputy. In the quarrels that ravaged French socialism in the prewar years he took his stand squarely with the reformists and revisionists. With the coming of the war and the "sacred union," he became undersecretary and later Minister of Munitions, winning wide praise for his energetic leadership and administrative abilities. Ironically, it was chance that dictated his selection as director of the ILO when both his compatriot Arthur Fontaine and the Englishman Harold Butler had to be passed over for diplomatic and technical reasons. He at first shocked some of the British civil servants who worked with him by his brusque approach to administrative problems, but he soon gained their admiration and cooperation. He threw himself selflessly into his work, displaying a boundless enthusiasm and energy, traveling widely in all parts of the world, encouraging the adoption of progressive labor legislation, gathering experts, inspiring the preparation in Geneva of invaluable studies on production, labor conditions, unemployment, and a host of other subjects. Always the Frenchman full of idealism and utopianism, he showed, as William Rappard once said of him, a zeal for the quantitative and the pragmatic more often found on the banks of the Hudson and the Thames than on the banks of the Seine. His varied career, his political philosophy, and his administrative accomplishments clearly emerge from this carefully documented biography by a Netherlands historian, written originally in Dutch and here presented in a French translation. Very much at home with his materials, Dr. Schaper has energetically examined Thomas' writings as well as various unpublished items in the ILO files in Geneva. He is sympathetic, sensible, and critical in his approach. Schaper's speculations on the possible course of events if Thomas had returned to French political life, or indeed if he had lived to succeed Sir Eric Drummond as Secretary General of the League itself, are less sound than the pages devoted to the career and thought of this prewar Socialist theoretician who turned into a pioneer international civil servant and statesman-administrator.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

FRANCE DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION, 1940-1944: A COLLECTION OF 292 STATEMENTS ON THE GOVERNMENT OF MARÉCHAL PÉTAIN AND PIERRE LAVAL. Volumes I-III. Translated from the French by Philip W. Whitcomb. [Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Documentary Series, Number 1.] (Stanford, Calif.: the Institution; distrib. by Stanford University Press. c. 1957. Pp. 587; 588-1052; 1053-1666. \$20.00 the set.) Mr. Whitcomb has (rather roughly) translated the three volumes published by Plon in 1957. They are divided into sections dealing with economic, political, military, social, and cultural affairs, Pétain, Laval, and "declarations by foreigners"—American newspapermen and German officials—which do not exclude the appearance of other foreign witnesses in other connections. The collection seems designed to explain and justify the activities of the Vichy régime and its officials in general, of many contributors in particular, and especially of Pétain and Pierre Laval, whose daughter and son-in-law were responsible for its gathering and eventual deposit in the Hoover Institution. The 1666 pages contain some material already in print, much that is useless, much that is interesting, and certain documents which, like Admiral Laborde's account of the fleet's scuttling at Toulon, are very revealing indeed. While the contents do not bear out the title, gaps are many—especially up to 1942—and bias evident, no student of the period will henceforth ignore the papers in the Hoover Tower, if only for the purpose of comparing them with other evidence. Yet, this essential *confrontation de témoins* is lacking here. Material directed at the very public least likely or able to check its one-sided presentation of highly controversial issues is presented here without a hint of doubt, or even explanation. In the original French, this incoherent collection of often secondhand, largely ex post facto, statements could be of interest and use to the scholar alive to its special pleading and trained to aim off for wind. But an English translation designed "for the general reader . . . biographers . . . writers seeking background material . . . psychologists . . .," yet lacking the additional information such a public would need to make sense of the stuff, and all this under the auspices of a foundation that should know better, appears a useless and equivocal undertaking.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGEN WEBER

LA FRANCE SOUS L'OCCUPATION. By P. Arnoult, J. Billig, F. Boudot, et al. Preface by Daniel Mayer. [Esprit de la Résistance, la Guerre, l'Occupation, la Déportation, la Libération.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1959. Pp. viii, 194. 800 fr.) This volume is a curious blend of good history and bad polemic. It is a counterblast, sometimes judicious and sometimes indignant in tone, to the recently published three-volume work *La vie de la France sous l'occupation*, issued under the imprint of the Hoover Institution. Twelve well-informed specialists have examined the Hoover volumes and have written topical chapters intended to refute or complement the account contained therein. Several of the chapters, though brief, are very useful, for they pull together lesser-known aspects of the occupation period, and they draw on some important German documentation. Agriculture, education, and economic life are good examples. Some other chapters do little more than summarize articles or books previously published by their authors. The general thesis that recurs throughout is that the existence of the Vichy regime benefitted the Germans much more than it protected the French. The authors offer evidence to show that France was Germany's most important supplier of goods and manpower, and that the existence of a French police force spared the inadequate German police for use elsewhere in occupied Europe. The principal weakness of the book is that the authors devote so much time and energy to belaboring straw men. Their primary target, the Hoover volumes, consists mainly of testimonials by former Vichy officials who seek to exculpate themselves or to exalt

Pierre Laval. No well-informed or sophisticated reader could fail to perceive the one-sided nature of the Hoover materials, yet the authors of the rebuttal volume seem to think that unless they expose that fact, millions may be misled. The second target of their indignation is the Hoover Institution. It is quite clear that the testimonials in the Hoover volumes were collected by Pierre Laval's daughter and son-in-law; yet the authors of the rebuttal volume repeatedly suggest that a team of anonymous American historians planned the Hoover volumes, selected the contributors, and evaded any mention of the work of anti-Vichy historians, all with a view to whitewashing Vichy. Americans, they imply, remain encrusted in their wartime errors toward France. For the record, it may be proper to say in print that no historian at the Hoover Institution, at Stanford, or anywhere else had any part in planning, collecting, or publishing the Hoover volumes, and that the content of those volumes in no way reflects the opinions of the Institution or of Americans generally. The controversy proves (if proof is needed) that the time for a dispassionate look at the Vichy era has not yet arrived.

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

FRUIN EN DE PARTIJEN TIJDENS DE REPUBLIEK. By J. W. Smit. [Historische Studies, uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, XIV.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1958. Pp. xvi, 227. Fl. 12.50.) This is a learned and valuable contribution to our knowledge of political and religious parties in the Dutch Republic (1579-1795). The author throws much welcome light upon the whole career of Robert Fruin, whom he properly calls "the outstanding Dutch historian of the 19th century." But he does so with a certain amount of regret, for Fruin failed to go much beyond the scope of political history, and he was unfair to the leaders in the Enlightenment era. On the other hand, he justly defends Fruin against E. Vermeulen, whose dissertation entitled *Fruin en Huizinga over de wetenschap der geschiedenis* (1956) attempts to show that after 1865 Fruin deteriorated as a historian. But Z. W. Sneller was too favorable to Fruin, who was a staunch liberal, too partial to Hugo Grotius, and too hostile to Prince Maurice and the orthodox Calvinists. Fruin devoted much attention to the works of J. L. Motley, especially *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* and *History of the United Netherlands*, indicating that Motley erred in maligning the Roman Catholic statesmen from 1555 to 1619, as Smit has ably demonstrated. Fruin himself argued incorrectly that commerce and liberty languish wherever the Roman Catholics prevail.

University of Michigan

ALBERT HYMA

NORSK HISTORIEFORSKNING I 19. OG. 20. ÅRHUNDRE. By Ottar Dahl. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 1959. Pp. 282. Kr. 14.50.) Among Norway's younger historians there is astir today a fresh current of interest—fresh certainly to the Norwegian scene—in the special problems of the historian. Associated directly with the expanding debate are the names of Ottar Dahl and Gunnar Christie Wasberg. Each now has to his credit several book-length studies, while critiques on particular issues have been offered by such scholars as Myckland, Seip, and Knutsen. Dahl's earlier studies (1952, 1956) have dealt with special subjects; his present volume surveys broadly a century and a half of Norwegian historiography. As such it invites comparison with a volume published in 1920 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Norwegian Historical Association (Den Norske Historiske Forening), which was entitled *Norsk historisk videnskap i femti år*. In part, Dahl's study provides a similar survey and in this respect it does not so much supersede as supplement the earlier volume. But it incorporates also a special problem, which is to delineate the arguments that have revolved about a succession of topics in Norwegian history, focusing attention on the way these scholarly debates

were related to, or conditioned by, general public controversies of the day, in each generation. It must be noted that in distribution of space, Dahl's study tends to slight somewhat the twentieth century. In their own right the last two generations must be content with a closing chapter of forty pages, though, for elaborating particular points, recent scholarship is drawn upon also in earlier pages. It is no surprise to see that Halvdan Koht continues, in effect, to be the dean of historical studies in Norway. But in the section on the work done in the decades between the two world wars it is mildly discomfiting, to one reader, not to find some consistent reference to the writings of Sverre Steen; only one article by him is listed in the bibliography. A survey of those lively present-day discussions, referred to above, would have been informative—coming from Dahl as a participant—and quite in agreement with his treatment of earlier decades (Wasberg's studies are not mentioned). Apart from such lesser matters, it can be recorded that Dahl has supplied a convenient and clarifying view of five generations of historical research, exposition, and controversy in Norway. The historian of other lands may with profit add this volume to his shelf of studies on the professional problems which beset his guild.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

LEBENDIGER GEIST: HANS-JOACHIM SCHOEPS ZUM 50. GEBURTSTAG VON SCHÜLERN DARGEBRACHT. Edited by Hellmut Diwald. [Beihefte der *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte*, Number 4.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1959. Pp. 252. Glds. 17.50.) When twelve academic disciples join to honor their master on some occasion—as in the case of Hans-Joachim Schoeps, professor at Erlangen on his fiftieth birthday—the quality of their scholarly offerings is bound to vary. A count of the items composing this volume yields thirteen names, but the last article is quite brief and would better have been inserted after the preface, being an introduction rather than a summary. In it Heinz Fiebiger justly celebrates Schoeps as an “unprofessorial professor” and “a kind of intellectual home” to anti-Nazi refugees returning to Germany. One of the latter, Hans Lamm, is a spokesman of postwar Jewry. After a short historical survey in which Karl Marx should perhaps have been dropped and Gustav Meyer added, he describes the feelings of “the Jew” in present-day Germany. A third minor paper, by Hans-Joachim Schwierskott, deals with *Das Gewissen*, a political journal founded in the early days of the Weimar Republic. Though the reviewer, because of the variety of topics, does not pretend to speak with authority on all of the remaining contributions, several are impressive examples of historical scholarship. This is especially true of what seems to be the most significant study, that of Hellmut Diwald (whose editing is not of the same caliber). He studies the hitherto unexplored phenomenon of Bohemianism—a Bohemian patriotism open to Germans and Czechs alike—as represented in the early nineteenth century by Bernard Bolzano. Other valuable additions to our knowledge are Hermann Siefert's story of the *Deutsche Freischar*, a youth group of the Weimar regime, and the somewhat less substantial description of the theory regarding the authoritarian state in the same period undertaken by Joachim H. Knoll. Next in importance is probably the publication of two dozen letters written between 1862 and 1887 by the theologian Paul de Lagarde to his colleague Adolf Hilgenfeld. Helmut M. Pölcher, who edited the correspondence, gives us an insight into German Protestant scholarship. Especially useful to German readers (since most of the works considered are American) is Hans Hillerbrand's account of the progress and problems of contemporary research on the Baptists. Finally, an essay on the understanding of intellectual history to be found among theologians by Georg H. Huntemann, a portrait of the Christian believer in archaic Judaism, Aimé Pallière, by Marion Schwarze-Nordmann, a comparison of Jewish and Christian attitudes on work

by Dieter A. Oberndörfer, and a discussion of Benedetto Croce's concept of history by Herbert Speckner are worth mentioning. A bibliography listing 145 of Schoeps's writings—the last being the eleven volumes of his *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*—concludes the commendable publication.

Roosevelt University

HELMUT HIRSCH

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, CENSOR GERMANIAE: THE CRITIC IN OPPOSITION FROM BISMARCK TO THE RISE OF NAZISM. By *Harry F. Young*. [International Scholars Forum, Volume XI.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959. Pp. 288. Glds. 26.50.) During his lifetime Maximilian Harden was frequently compared to Voltaire. His political-literary journal *Die Zukunft* was eagerly read by members of the German "establishment" and by intellectuals, real and imaginary. His critical approval of new literature was often enough to establish the reputation of a writer, and his political articles were without doubt the most outspoken and penetrating analyses of the shortcomings of German policy and politicians produced in the era of the Second Reich. Today Harden is remembered, if at all, in connection with the Eulenburg scandal trials, and as the prototype of the Jewish journalist who stabbed Germany in the back in the First World War. This image of Harden, created by German nationalist and Nazi propagandists, is rather ironic, for Harden had renounced everything connected with his Jewish background including his name (Witkowski), some of his sharpest barbs were directed against the "Jewish" press, and he remained to the end of his life a burning though often bitter German patriot. In fact, his greatest lapses in political judgment were the result of a myopic nationalism, a desire to see his country build a fleet, expand overseas, and grow great on the British model. An American historian has now written a balanced, intelligent, and very readable biography of Harden that should correct many misconceptions about him current in historical literature. While paying full and perhaps excessive tribute to Harden's great qualities—his courage, intelligence, and originality—Dr. Young has not neglected his weaknesses—his vulgarity, his passionate egocentricity that shaped and often warped his judgment, his political mistakes, and his tendency to hit below the belt when attacking political figures he considered dangerous. In this connection, the author's account of the salacious Eulenburg-Moltke affair and Harden's relations with Holstein is a model of dispassionate historical analysis. He demonstrates that Harden had been attacking Eulenburg long before he met Holstein, and that he was far too proud to allow himself to become the tool of any man. Holstein undoubtedly reinforced Harden's belief in Eulenburg's baneful political influence, but the crucial evidence about the sex life of Eulenburg and Moltke did not come from him but from other sources in Harden's incredibly wide and varied circle of informants. As a biography, Young's book fails to deal with significant aspects of Harden's personal life. There is only a footnote reference to Harden's first wife and no mention at all of his second wife and other close personal friends. Even if such omissions were considered necessary in deference to persons still living, the existence of Harden's marriages, for instance, might at least have been mentioned for the record. The primary interest and importance of Harden, however, lies in his political and literary influence. Young has rightly concentrated on this aspect of his career, and has succeeded in establishing him firmly in the tradition of the great European polemicists.

Michigan State University

NORMAN RICH

DIE STUFENWEISE DURCHBRECHUNG DES VERFASSUNGSSYSTEMS DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK IN DEN JAHREN 1930 BIS 1933: EINE STAATSRRECHTLICHE UND HISTORISCH-POLITISCHE ANALYSE. By *Klaus Revermann*.

[Aschendorffs Juristische Handbücherei, Number 62.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959. Pp. viii, 175. DM 14.) One in a series of legal studies and commentaries intended primarily for the guidance of lawyers in the German Federal Republic, this volume surveys the legal and political aspects of the progressive abrogation of the provisions of the Weimar Constitution from 1930 to 1933. Carefully and diligently, if with little originality and independent judgment, the author takes us step by step from Brüning's "constitutional" to Hitler's "unconstitutional" dictatorship. His thesis, that a constitution is only the superstructure and not the substructure of a political system, will seem a bit commonplace to the reader familiar with some of the more recent literature on American constitutional law. For Weimar Germany, Frederick Mundell Watkins' excellent study of twenty years ago, *The Failure of Constitutional Emergency Powers under the German Republic*, remains the definitive work in English. What Revermann's book lacks in scholarly originality, however, it makes up in the author's well-placed emphasis on the contemporary relevance of the Weimar experience. He rightly stresses the culpability of German constitutional lawyers and commentators in the fall of the Weimar Republic. Not the "reactionary" judiciary cited by other authors, but the liberal, neo-Kantian formalism of leading constitutional commentators is blamed for the dogmatic interpretations that permitted Papen and Hitler to turn the Constitution against its strongest supporters. It is unfortunate that Revermann gave only three pages to an analysis of the present Basic Law in the light of the Weimar experiences. There is nothing in the latter document, he points out, which would rule out a repetition of the 1930-1933 events. A constitution is never a bulwark behind which the responsible leaders may hide their impotence. It is merely an instrument at the disposal of these leaders, which they may use to defend, as well as to destroy, the political order formalized in the document.

Michigan State University

LEWIS J. EDINGER

FORMATIONSGESCHICHTE DER WEHRMACHT, 1933-1939: STÄBE UND TRUPPENTEILE DES HEERES UND DER LUFTWAFFE. By *Georg Tessin*. [Schriften des Bundesarchivs, Number 7.] (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag. c. 1959. Pp. viii, 266. DM 14.80.) Herr Tessin's book, one of the extremely valuable series issued by the Bundesarchiv at Koblenz, is essentially a reference work for the serious student of German military history and for German government agencies. It is also of real value to those interested in military history and organization in general as well as to specialists in the recent history of Europe. The textual portion of the book provides a detailed but brief account of the expansion of the German army and air force from Hitler's coming to power until the *Wehrmacht* marched into Poland in September 1939. The nature of the subject and the care with which exceptions to the normal pattern of organization are indicated reduce the readability of the book for the general reader but enhance its value for the specialist. The statistical tables, which present data on the individual units, are clear and well organized, providing invaluable assistance to those who need order of battle information regarding the *Wehrmacht*. Tessin has here provided a most significant supplement to Burkhart Mueller-Hillebrand's *Das Heer, 1933-1945* and has worked virgin fields by providing badly needed data on the *Luftwaffe*. At the same time, he fills surprisingly well the gap left between the *Rangliste* and *Stellungbesetzungsliste* published by the Reichswehr until 1933 and Wolf Keilig's mammoth undertaking *Das deutsche Heer, 1939-1945*. These three sources should provide a clear and unbroken picture of the general organizational development of the German army from 1920 to 1945 when Keilig's work is completed. Some of the information Tessin provides is readily available elsewhere in fragmentary form, much is based upon sources hard to locate and harder to use; no-

where else can such information be found clearly and concisely presented for the use of the reader. His many months of painstaking labor, using all of the documentary and published sources available to the German government, will save far more hours for later researchers. Additional information will undoubtedly come to light when the documents of the German armed forces are returned to Germany, but it does not seem likely that they will do more than help to lighten a few dark corners, since the data here are essentially complete, especially concerning the army. No student of military history, of the Third Reich, or of the Second World War can afford to ignore this book.

University of Massachusetts HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series C (1933-1937). Volume II, THE THIRD REICH: FIRST PHASE, OCTOBER 14, 1933-JUNE 13, 1934. [Department of State Publication 6750.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1959. Pp. lxxi, 929. \$3.75.) The period treated in this volume is curiously lacking in profile. Perhaps the negotiations on disarmament (an ill-chosen word!) are as much the center of attention as anything. At least they occupy a great deal of space; the volume is packed with details on the size of the remodeled German army and the new air force, and on the military value of the SA and SS. But little headway was made in the negotiations beyond some increasing acceptance abroad of the German thesis of "equality of rights." In the east, the soundings by Polish Foreign Minister Beck in September, recorded in the preceding volume, led rather swiftly to the signing of the nonaggression pact in January, the first notable success of Nazi foreign policy since the Reich concordat. But with Russia all was distinctly not well. Insistence on German willingness to reestablish good relations met understandable coolness. Litvinov emphasized this coolness with comments on *Mein Kampf* and on Rosenberg's visions. Ambassador Nadolny felt that his efforts were not really supported at home, and retired, bitterly disappointed, in the spring. But Red army leaders were strongly averse to breaking their ties with Germany, as conversations in Moscow with Voroshilov and Yegorov showed. On the Austrian front, Habicht, head of the Austrian Nazis, was constantly active, apparently not always to the satisfaction of the German government. Dollfuss wavered, and as late as March 1934 indicated that some agreement with the Austrian Nazis was possible. Hitler surprisingly ordered about that time the mitigation of Nazi activities, even denying to Habicht that he desired the *Anschluss* or *Gleichschaltung* of Austria. Like the British documents, the German ones show little awareness before the February civil war of the imminent attack on the Austrian Socialists. Relations with the Vatican were troubled. In October, not six weeks after the signing of the concordat, Pacelli wrote that the current situation differed from the Kulturkampf "only by its greater harshness and despotism." The plebiscite in the Saar also produced much correspondence, with the Germans highly confident of the result. All in all, this was an indecisive time. But Hitler could mark two break-throughs, particularly striking after the noisy frustrations of 1933: the pact with Poland, and improved relations with Italy, culminating in Mussolini's acceptance of a meeting with Hitler in June.

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

ZENSUR UND GEISTESFREIHEIT UNTER JOSEPH II.: BEITRAG ZUR KULTURGESCHICHTE DER HABSBURGISCHEN LÄNDER. By *Oskar Sashegyi*. [Studia Historica, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Number 16.] (Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. 1958. Pp. 244. Ft. 65.) Out of Hungary, oddly at this time, comes this scholarly monograph on censorship and freedom of thought under Joseph II. Begun twenty years ago, and partly based

on material in the now destroyed *Staatsratsakten*, it discusses the origins and application of Joseph II's concept of freedom of thought. Freedom of conscience, as advocated by such writers as Pufendorff, did not, according to Martini, Joseph's tutor, diminish the rights of the absolute state. The dichotomy implied in this view permeated the attitudes of Josephian Austria. On the one hand, censorship was greatly reduced. Censorship by church authorities was abolished, the seizure of privately owned books was largely discontinued, and in 1781 the *Zensurhofkommission* itself was dissolved. The latter's functions were combined with those of the *Studienkommission*, a number of whose members were freemasons and whose chairman, Gottfried Van Swieten, opposed all precensorship, reduced the list of prohibited books to a minimum, and insisted on the then fairly novel idea that lack of prohibition did not mean the state's imprimatur. On the other hand, some devotional books were suppressed as "superstitious," and attacks on specific religions, including Catholic attacks on Protestantism, were prohibited. The author also feels that the supervision of the pulpit, the school, and the stage, to Joseph II the main educational channels of the state, amounted to a serious infringement on intellectual freedom. Here, however, he somewhat weakens his case by failing to distinguish between state administered and private institutions: plays prohibited at the Burgtheater were performed at the Kärntnertortheater. The work concludes with a chapter on the brief and unsuccessful rear guard action of the Josephians in 1790. It is an interestingly written though at times confusingly organized book. It tells its story well, but draws few conclusions.

New York, New York

EDITH M. LINK

JACOPO SADOLETO, 1477-1547: HUMANIST AND REFORMER. By *Richard M. Douglas*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 307. \$5.00.) Jacopo Sadoletto was among the choicest spirits of the Renaissance and the Counter Reformation. He was at the outset a classical scholar who would have preferred to devote his entire life to the pursuit of learning, but first indigence and then obligation involved him in labors and embroiled him in controversies for which he had no taste save to discharge the one and allay the other. Under Leo X he was a papal secretary, constantly employed because of his elegant Latin in drafting papal documents. Consecrated as bishop of Carpentras in Provence, he might have enjoyed the revenue and delegated the duties, but, whenever permitted by the popes, he would withdraw from Rome to the relative seclusion of his see. He did not thereby achieve absolute tranquility because he took seriously his episcopal duties. Clement VII brought him back to Rome to participate in the turgid politics of a tumultuous time. Lamenting the policies which led to the *sacco di Roma* Sadoletto withdrew just before the event to his parish. Paul III summoned him as a cardinal to take part in programs of reform and in preparation for the Council of Trent. The inner conflict of Sadoletto exceeded the outer. He drafted some of the severest letters against Luther but said afterwards that he had not approved of the policy of Leo X on indulgences. He served Clement VII but deprecated his political ineptitude. He supported Paul III's reformatory program but lamented its repeated lapses into desuetude. He sought to restore the unity of Christendom by conciliatory letters to the Protestants which elicited from Melancthon silence and from Calvin a devastating reply. At the same time some of Sadoletto's work was denied publication with the approval of Rome. He worked for the Council of Trent and was distressed that it so blithely endorsed the Vulgate. His funeral oration was pronounced by that Cardinal Caraffa who, as Paul IV, might have committed Sadoletto, had he lived, to the dungeon of the Inquisition. The book is a work of thorough scholarship. Manuscript material has been extensively employed. The accounts of Sadoletto's relations with his contemporaries make of the book a mirror of the Church

of Rome under the Medicean and Farnese popes. The style is clear and attractive. While the thought of Sadoletto is well related to that of the Scholastics and the Protestants, I would suggest only an exploration of its connection with Florentine Neoplatonism. The picture as given of Sadoletto's doctrine of man and salvation suggests this influence so prevalent in that period.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LA FRANCIA E IL GRANDUCATO DI TOSCANA. III Serie: 1848-1860. Volume I, 7 MARZO 1848-29 DICEMBRE 1850; Volume III, 6 GENNAIO 1858-14 LUGLIO 1860. Edited by *Armando Saitta*. [Fonti per la storia d'Italia, Volumes XXXIII and XXXV. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi potenze europee e gli stati italiani, 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri.] (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea. 1959. Pp. xxi, 418; 529. L. 3,000; L. 3,000.) These two volumes are part of a large projected series of diplomatic documents concerning the Italian states before national unification. Volume I (1848-1850) deals with Tuscany in the period of the revolutions and wars of 1848 and 1849 and of the Austrian restoration in 1850. Volume III (1858-1860) treats the equally important period of the Austro-Sardinian War, Tuscan independence, and eventual annexation to Sardinia. Mr. Saitta, the editor, reproduced documents from the three main series of the French foreign ministry archives: *correspondance politique*, *correspondance consulaire*, and *mémoires et documents*. Although there are 557 documents in the two volumes, they represent a rigorous effort of selection from the more important ones dealing with Franco-Tuscan relations, relations with third powers, Tuscan internal affairs, and the general political and ideological atmosphere of the times. The editor's broad base of selection and his meticulous method of presentation are most laudable. Each document is published with name and title of sender and receiver, place and date of dispatch, the archival reference, and references to previous publications. It is only regretted that the dates of receipt of the documents are not also included. The material in Volume I is of special interest because it contains correspondence of two French envoys (Walewski and La Tour d'Auvergne) who were later to become foreign ministers. In addition to the French texts the volumes contain chronological tables, with summaries in Italian, as well as editorial footnotes, appendixes, and indexes of persons. The editor and the Istituto are both to be congratulated for these excellent volumes, and it is to be hoped that the other volumes of this series will soon be forthcoming.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN LITHUANIA. By *Alfred Erich Senn*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 272. \$6.00.) In his first book Dr. Senn reveals himself as well equipped to do serious research in the complicated and difficult field of Baltic history. Senn's knowledge of languages, including Lithuanian and Polish, his courage to deal with certain controversial problems in an exemplary, objective manner, and his ability to concentrate his attention particularly on the struggles of the native population, neglected or overlooked by most foreign historians, give certain signs of his future success. Without an intention to minimize the value of Senn's first attempt, however, a reviewer has to point out certain shortcomings. The book reveals surprisingly little information about the policy of the German occupation authorities in Lithuania and the formation of the Lithuanian *Taryba* (the National Council). There is no excuse for this because a wealth of published as well as unpublished primary sources regarding these problems is available. One would also wish to obtain more informa-

tion about the Polish-Lithuanian controversies during the First World War. Senn does not know that certain members of the *Taryba* had already contacted the Allies while their country was still occupied by the Germans. The author also knows too little about the other Baltic countries and their relations with Lithuania. Therefore the sections of his book dealing with these questions are quite superficial. There are, in addition, errors of minor detail. Were the Lithuanians, for example, a significant minority (1 per cent) in the Latvian province of Courland? On the other hand, credit must be given to Senn for his extensive use of a great number of unpublished and published Lithuanian sources which offer for the first time an opportunity to American scholars to get acquainted with Lithuanian activities and viewpoints regarding events that have influenced their country. One would also say that his treatment of Russian-Lithuanian relations is excellent, and that he has been quite skillful in dealing with the potentially explosive Polish-Lithuanian relations after the First World War. All in all, Senn's book is an important contribution to the history of the Baltic area and the best we have in English regarding the problems he has touched. One can only wish that he will continue his studies of the modern development of Lithuania, a country that has played an important role in European history.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

MARX UND ENGELS UND DAS ZEITGENÖSSISCHE RUSSLAND. By *Helmut Krause*. [Marburger Abhandlungen zur Geschichte und Kultur Osteuropas, Band 1. Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe II.] ([Marburg:] Kommissionsverlag Wilhelm Schmitz for the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Osteuropaforschung der Philipps-Universität Marburg. 1958. Pp. 144.) The merit of this book lies in its comprehensiveness and scholarly orientation. It surveys the broad front of Marx's and Engels' views and opinions regarding Russia and puts them into the context of contemporary events. The author thus deals in turn with their attitudes toward the Polish problem, toward Czechs, South Slavs, Balkan affairs, and Pan-Slavism, toward the European influence of Russian power as the bulwark of reaction incapable of internal change, toward Russian history, with their gradually deepening interest in the internal affairs of Russia and their efforts to fit them into their scheme of dialectic development. As a result of such comprehensiveness this book can be used as an excellent guide to the entire subject and, as the author is fully aware, can serve as an effective antidote to Marxist infallibility. No other approach shows so well the dependence of Marx's and Engels' views on the shifting surface events of their day. Their limitations appear particularly clear when one sees how they dealt over the decades with a phenomenon like Russia which contravened so obviously the main course of Western European events. The author, however, also demonstrates how Marx and Engels (and the former slightly more than the latter) hesitated to apply their dialectics rigidly to Russian conditions. The book ends with an account of Engels' prevarications when both Russian Marxists and Narodniks pressed him for a definite stand. The chief weakness of this book lies in the fact that it ignores almost completely Soviet literature on the subject. Occasionally also it lacks clarity, and more often depth and penetration. But it proves at any rate—and this may be counted again as a merit—the hollowness of Engels' boast to Bebel that no one knew Russia better both inside and out than Karl Marx.

University of California, Riverside

THEODORE H. VON LAUE

FAR EAST

INTELLECTUAL TRENDS IN THE CH'ING PERIOD. By *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*. Translated with introduction and notes by *Immanuel C. Y. Hsü*. Foreword by *Benja-*

min I. Schwartz. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 2.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xxii, 147, lii. \$5.75.) Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929) published his *Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun* in 1921. His subject was the attrition of Confucian intellectual authority in the Ch'ing dynastic era (1644-1912), from the early movement against Sung and Ming speculative philosophy to the later transformation of Confucius from sage to seer, or, concomitantly, to a figure of merely historical significance for modern men. Liang himself, as an ultimately dissident, independently influential disciple of K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927), played a great part in the last phase of this history, and he discusses himself charmingly, in the third person, combining strictures on his achievement with a properly appreciative self-assessment, e.g., "If this man lives out his life in the present manner, we cannot but say that it is a great loss insofar as Chinese cultural history is concerned." Just as Liang is not only author but a subject of his history, so his history is not only (and not especially) a secondary source for later scholars, but a primary one. Liang has a great deal of interesting data to impart (enhanced, made more useful as something of an agenda for further research, by the informative bibliographical appendix of the painstaking and tasteful translator). But essentially what we have here is one of those situations that hint at infinite regress in historical knowledge: one historian's conclusions about his chosen subject lend themselves mainly to other historians' inferences toward conclusions about him or the subject that encompasses him. Throughout the work, in all kinds of ways—mainly by dwelling on the "recovery of antiquity" and the "new scientific spirit of research"—Liang strains to construct a parallel of Ch'ing history with the Renaissance in Europe. The interpretation is labored and faulty, as Professor Schwartz notes in his thoughtful, penetrating foreword, but this certainly is not a work to be simply dismissed on that account. It is an eloquent revelation of a problem at the core of modern Chinese history, the problem of cultural self-questioning, the problem of Chinese continuity in a Western-colored age. Liang's narrative is a mine of questions waiting to be recognized, questions whose answers would go far to explain why Liang wrote his narrative in just this way. How and why, for example, did the early Ch'ing scholarship, which condemned Sung penetration of Confucianism by Buddhism, an "inner" syncretism, lead to the late Ch'ing scholarship of K'ang *et al.*, which was ready to make an "outer" addition of Buddhist interests to Confucian? The one who refines that nugget will understand much about Liang and will owe to him (and if a Western scholar, to Professor Hsü) much of his understanding.

University of California, Berkeley

JOSEPH R. LEVENSON

THE OPIUM WAR THROUGH CHINESE EYES. By Arthur Waley. (New York: Macmillan Company. c. 1958. Pp. 257. \$4.75.) The main body of the present volume on the First Opium War, 1838-1842, consists of an excerpted paraphrase and translation, with a running commentary, of the personal diary of the famous "Viceroy Lin," Imperial Commissioner Lin Tse-hsu, published for the first time in 1955, in a six-volume collection of documents entitled *Chan-cheng Tzu-liao Ts'ung-k'an* (Corpus of Material about the Opium War) by the Communist press in Shanghai. Besides Commissioner Lin's diary, which covers the period from February 14, 1839, to December 12, 1842, and accounts for 157 pages of Mr. Waley's text, there is a twenty-eight-page translation-paraphrase of another contemporary record, *Tu-tu Yin* (Songs of Oh dear, Oh dear!), of Pei Ch'ing-ch'iao, a minor participant and otherwise anonymous commentator of the British capture and occupation of the port of Ningpo. Two short chapters based on local diaries reflect the views of ordinary Chinese on the war in Shanghai and Chinkiang—a fortified town near the mouth of the Yangtze—during the British capture and occupation. The final chapter, entitled "Gutzlaff and His Traitors: Mamo," pre-

sents a side glance at the famous German-English missionary and translator for the East India Company and the British military, and then proceeds to translate fragmentary case histories of eight *Han Chien* (Chinese traitors) employed by Gutzlaff as informers. They represent the usual type of hangers-on and fringe characters around treaty ports who combine craft and servility on their part with the necessity and credulity on the part of the foreigner to make a living out of selling their country. Of course, as the events here described took place in time of war, these *Han Chien* were shot as traitors when apprehended by Chinese authorities. To my knowledge, this is Waley's first venture into political material. He is, of course, well known for his excellent literary translations of Chinese and Japanese poetry and fiction. The present volume reveals the same easy fluency which makes for good reading. It also attempts to show a Chinese point of view and a human side of history—neither of which has characterized British writing on this period. An example of the former is his title usage of the "Opium War," which his fellow countrymen have always insisted on calling "The First Anglo-Chinese War." He also seems to have started out with the idea of making Commissioner Lin a kind of Confucian, moralistic hero crusading against the crass English mercantilists and opium peddlers. It is interesting to note, as the story unfolds, how this attitude breaks down and a more and more conventional English attitude appears. The statements of Lin and the other diarists are corrected and refuted by British documents and the Chinese who start out as heroes, or at least human beings, end up as subjects of ridicule. In fact, *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes* may present a more liberal and generous point of view than English readers are accustomed to, but it is hardly an innovation to Americans, who have been familiar with extensive Chinese materials for many years.

University of Colorado

EARL SWISHER

UNITED STATES

THE AMERICAN THEORY OF CHURCH AND STATE. By *Loren P. Beth*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 183. \$4.50.) This is a useful introduction to a timely subject, a book which should be particularly valuable for college courses in history and government. It is well organized, well written, and concise; it is sane and moderate in its treatment of controversial issues. It may well appeal to a good many persons not having the time or inclination to peruse the monumental tomes of Anson Phelps Stokes on *Church and State in the United States*. The author is a political scientist and his approach is that of political theory, but the first half of the book provides a short history of the development of religious freedom in England and America. The first chapter deals with the English background, relying to a considerable extent on the classic four-volume work by Wilbur K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*. The contributions of theorists like Roger Williams, James Harrington, William Penn, and John Locke are examined briefly, and the nature and significance of the Toleration Act of 1689 are discussed. The second chapter discusses church and state in the American colonies, with special attention to the intolerance of early Massachusetts and conditions in Virginia, Maryland, and Rhode Island. The achievement of separation in Virginia during the time of the Revolution and the guarantees of religious freedom in the Constitution provide the main themes for the third chapter. Later chapters cover the testing of the principle of separation in the courts, contemporary problems in church-state relations, possible church-state relationships, and "a modern American theory of separation." Professor Beth's treatment of the court cases is sketchy and somewhat disappointing. His presentation of the rationale for maintaining as great a degree of separation as possible is cogent and well reasoned, though it does not solve sticky questions of detail. The

author is reluctant to commit himself in any very specific way on such matters as proper forms of government aid to parochial school students or the degree of religious teaching that should be permitted in public schools. Conflict between political and religious authority, he believes, is properly settled by the Supreme Court. Beth contends that both church and state gain from the policy of separation. The church is better enabled to perform its function as moral critic of society; the state benefits from criticism by an independent church. Government is also spared the tasks of judging religious truth and settling numerous ecclesiastical disputes. The case for separation today, this book suggests, is as powerful as it was in the time of Jefferson and Madison.

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

GEORGE CROGHAN: WILDERNESS DIPLOMAT. By Nicholas B. Wainwright. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. c. 1959. Pp. viii, 334. \$6.00.) In 1926 the late Albert S. Volwiler rescued from historical oblivion George Croghan, who was surely one of the key figures in the history of the Anglo-American frontier in the decades between 1740 and 1780. Until the publication of the book before us, Volwiler's scholarly study was the only authoritative work on Croghan's life and times. Since the publication of Volwiler's study, however, much new and directly pertinent manuscript material has come to light, especially the large collection of Croghan's personal papers discovered by Dr. Nicholas B. Wainwright himself. Also, a number of books on Croghan's "times" have appeared, which substantially revise Volwiler's background analyses. Now, in his *George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat*, Wainwright has produced a superlatively scholarly and detailed study of Croghan's life that revises the Volwiler work in two ways. In the first place, the discovery of so much new Croghan material made almost mandatory a rewriting of the detailed story of Croghan's activities—his fur trade, his land speculations, and, above all, his uncanny and never-failing success as a negotiator with the Indian tribes that gave him his greatest significance as a historical figure. In the second place, Wainwright says he has not felt it necessary "to associate him [Croghan] with a great American theme." The author has concentrated his attention upon "Croghan the man"; his "sole aim has been to explore the life of a most unusual American." In the achievement of this aim the book is a resounding success. As Wainwright says: "Croghan was an activist and had little of the intellectual about him. His mind was constantly stirred by the inevitability of western colonization and the settlement of Indian lands." Thus, the book is essentially a meticulously documented and highly detailed narrative of every discoverable move that Croghan made, and every entanglement, financial and otherwise, in which he became involved, from the moment of his first appearance in the documents in 1742 until his death in 1780. Despite the author's concentration upon "Croghan the man," this detailed study does, nevertheless, throw a great deal of light upon one of the major themes in American history, the opening of the trans-Allegheny frontier in the troublous times between 1740 and 1783. In this period there were at least twenty-three years of Anglo-French or Anglo-Indian warfare, and the remainder of the time was characterized by constant turmoil and tensions of various kinds. Other themes, also, are illuminated by this study: English trade, warfare, and general policy in Anglo-Indian relations; Anglo-French relations; Virginia-Pennsylvania rivalry for the possession or control of the trans-Allegheny west; party squabbles in Quaker Pennsylvania; and the War for American Independence. In general, one is struck by the manner and the extent of the individual's role in history, as against—or, perhaps, as a qualification of—the extreme doctrines of sociological determinism so popular in our time.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM STEPHENS, 1743-1745. Edited by E. Merton Coulter. [Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number 3.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. c. 1959. Pp. xv, 288. \$5.00.) This is the third volume published by the Wormsloe Foundation. The first, *Wormsloe: Two Centuries of a Georgia Family*, was written by E. Merton Coulter, distinguished historian of Georgia. The second and third (the last the present one), edited by the same scholar, comprise *The Journal of William Stephens, 1741-1745*. This volume covers the period August 1, 1743, through December 31, 1745, with several gaps. Stephens' journal, 1737-1741, was printed by the Trustees of Georgia in three volumes (London, 1742), and was reprinted and published in the *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Volume IV and Supplement to that volume). Stephens was Secretary of the Province from 1737 to 1750, and he kept this journal, sending one or more copies to the Trustees so that they might be informed on events and developments in the colony. (Though he kept the journal after 1745, it has not been found.) He reported in detail, and his account is a must for historians of this early period of Georgia. As in the previous volume, the editor has not included footnote explanations, for to have done so would have involved "writing in footnotes a history of the times." He does give the reader a foreword and an introduction, and in an appendix is an "Identification of Important Persons and Places." At the end is an index to both volumes. The work is up to the high standard of all Coulter's publications.

North Carolina Department of Archives and History

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

COASTAL EXPLORATION OF WASHINGTON. By Robert Ballard Whitebrook. Foreword by Henry R. Wagner. (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, Publishers. c. 1959. Pp. xxv, 146. \$7.50.) This well-printed book of seven chapters and several appendixes deals mainly with Spanish explorers and Captain George Vancouver's explorations on the Northwest coast. The chapter on Vancouver and data on his ships' anchorages in Puget Sound are essentially the materials that appeared in a competent article by Mr. Whitebrook in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* in July 1953. Unfortunately, Whitebrook has chosen to extend the field of his expertness without observing the discipline evident in that article. Errors of fact and amateurish generalizations about maritime discovery generally, European expansion, the Spanish in the Northwest, and the sea otter trade mar what might have been a valuable work on a highly interesting subject.

Reed College

DOROTHY O. JOHANSEN

THE JOURNALS OF HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG. Volume III. Translated by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. (Philadelphia: Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States and the Muhlenberg Press. 1958. Pp. 797. \$10.00.) This volume completes the difficult labor of collecting, translating, and editing the journals of the "Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America." Volume III begins in January of 1777 and concludes with the diarist's death in the fall of 1787. By 1777 Muhlenberg was already in failing health and had given up the active leadership in church affairs of his earlier years, though he maintained close touch and zealous interest in the denomination he had done so much to establish in America. He spent the war years near Philadelphia and records the march and countermarch of armies, the rumors, atrocities, inflation, anxieties, and shortages of the war. Muhlenberg affords insights, also, into the conservative and aristocratic mind of the times. (He remained neutral during the war, although one son was a general in the revolutionary army and another was in the Continental Congress and the Pennsylvania Assembly.) We see also the religious conservative, scandalized by textual criticism of the Bible,

by deism in high places, and by the growing interest in science. At the same time the diary reveals a deeply cultured and widely learned man. The journals contain a treasure house of data about wages, prices, current medical practice, and daily life. There is an excellent index.

University of Pittsburgh

HUGH G. CLELAND

TRAVELS IN THE OLD SOUTH: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Volume III, THE ANTE BELLUM SOUTH, 1825-1860: COTTON, SLAVERY, AND CONFLICT. Edited by Thomas D. Clark. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 19.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. c. 1959. Pp. xviii, 406. \$10.00.) *The Ante Bellum South, 1825-1860*—third volume in Thomas D. Clark's excellently compiled bibliography *Travels in the Old South*—follows the pattern of the first two volumes published in 1956. In its four sections, "The Cotton South, 1826-1835," "A Decade of Nationalism, 1836-1845," "The Slavery South at Noontide, 1846-1852," and "The South in Sectional Crisis, 1852-1860," the editors, James W. Patton, Charles S. Sydnor, Robert G. Lunde, and F. Garvin Davenport, have described 506 travel accounts and each editor has contributed a compact introduction pointing up the collection of works he examined. Here are gathered travelers of many sorts, of both sexes and varied ages, from many lands, visiting the South for many reasons. Lecturers, lawyers, professional writers, doctors, artists, military men, workingmen, professors, preachers, policemen, free Negroes, scientists, actors, businessmen, musicians, politicians present their observations and their points of view with violent prejudice, broad objectivity, scientific interest, sympathetic understanding, bitter criticism. Balancing all these an investigator can arrive at something like the reality of the ante bellum South. Intended, like its predecessors, as "a tool for scholars in search of contemporary views of America," this volume also offers annotations that go beyond useful description of itinerary into objective comment on the tone and quality of the traveler's report of his impressions. Though admittedly selective, this work is broad in its inclusiveness. This is an important project, well executed, and by no means limited in usefulness to historians of the South.

Washington University

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS OF THE PLAINS, 1857-1861: A DOCUMENTARY ACCOUNT OF THE MILITARY CAMPAIGNS, AND NEGOTIATIONS OF INDIAN AGENTS—WITH REPORTS AND JOURNALS OF P. G. LOWE, R. M. PECK, J. E. B. STUART, S. D. STURGIS, AND OTHER OFFICIAL PAPERS. Edited, with introductions and notes by LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume IX.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1959. Pp. 310. \$9.50.) The drama of Indian-military conflicts on the high plains for decades has attracted the novelist, the writer of historical nonfiction, and the professional historian. Most of the writing concerns the post-Civil War period, an era that climaxed a long and losing battle for the natives, but the Indian fighting of the fifties provided a significant curtain raiser for the campaigns that occurred after 1865. There is less emphasis on the prewar decade because it did not produce any spectacular "massacres," e.g., great defeats for the army, and because the nation's attention was riveted upon the sectional issue. This latest contribution of the Hafens helps to fill a gap presaging events that followed, once wearers of the Blue and the Gray had settled their differences. The volume is a collection of official and unofficial documents. Colonel Edwin V. Sumner's report of the campaign against the Cheyennes in 1857, accompanied by reports of several Indian agents, P. G. Lowe's journal of a summer wagon train, and R. M. Peck's account of Major John Sedg-

wick's movements comprise the first part. In the second part there are more reports by Sumner and Indian agents dealing with operations in 1858. The last section includes extracts from Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart's journal, a report by Captain Samuel Sturgis on the Kiowa and Comanche expedition, and letters from Sumner and Sedgwick describing the establishment of Fort Wise in Colorado, all during 1860. The text is adequately documented and edited. The index is brief.

University of Colorado

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

RELUCTANT REBEL: THE SECRET DIARY OF ROBERT PATRICK, 1861-1865. Edited by *F. Jay Taylor*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. c. 1959. Pp. xiii, 271. \$5.00.) **STONEWALL'S MAN: SANDIE PENDLETON.** By *W. G. Bean*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. c. 1959. Pp. viii, 252. \$5.00.) At last comes a diary of an atypical Confederate, a man who saw soldiering as a duty to be made as painless as possible. Sergeant Robert Patrick, "reluctant rebel," enlisted because it was the thing a man did, but he soon "saw that no one thanked me nor cared anything for me because I worked hard." He then "resolved to accept the very first position that was offered me which would render my soldier life . . . more pleasant and easier." That position turned out to be in a quartermaster office—a job which came as a result of academy education and winning personality. Starting from Clinton, Louisiana, Patrick traveled to Shiloh, Vicksburg, Mobile, Dalton, Atlanta, and almost to Tennessee. On all of his wanderings he kept a clear eye for pretty women and the main chance. Happily he also kept a diary. The original he wrote in Benn Pitman shorthand for later translation. The entries are almost wholly devoid of nineteenth-century prudery. What Patrick thought, saw, and said is frankly recorded. Accounts of depredations by Confederate soldiers on loyal southerners are mixed with hilariously enlightening social history. From these pages comes a sardonic glimpse into the Confederacy. This journal is improved by able editing. Professor Taylor's excellent introduction is reinforced by a spectacular job of identifying people and places. The result is a significant Confederate source. If Patrick was a reluctant rebel, Sandie Pendleton was not. Possessed of peerless Virginia ancestry and unusual intelligence, Sandie was an avid southerner. Secession swept him from graduate work at the University of Virginia into the army. Soon attached to Stonewall Jackson's staff, he rose rapidly in Old Jack's estimation. In 1863, at age twenty-two, he became chief of staff of Jackson's corps. After Stonewall's death, Sandie continued on the corps staff and served Generals Ewell and Early. He died of wounds received at the Battle of Fisher's Hill in late 1864. While it may be argued that Civil War biographies are becoming overspecialized when they descend to staff officer level, it must be said that *Stonewall's Man* is a sound, scholarly book. Drawing on extensive manuscript sources, the author subtly shows Sandie's real significance. He was a young man of bright promise, one of a doomed generation whose future lay buried in the South's past.

Rice Institute

FRANK E. VANDIVER

THE ENDURING LINCOLN. Edited by *Norman Graebner*. [Lincoln Sesqui-centennial Lectures at the University of Illinois.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 129. \$3.00.) This useful little volume makes "an attempt to segregate from the vast Lincoln record those facets of his career which offer a perennial hope and an inescapable challenge to a troubled world." Although this is a large order, the book succeeds reasonably well. While it contains little that is strictly new—the lecturers drew heavily upon their previous writings—it represents a distillation of the best thinking of four outstanding Lincoln scholars. Dr. Basler, in an approach originally suggested by an Emerson quotation, discusses "Abraham Lincoln: An Immortal Sign."

Analyzing the Sumter complex and emancipation as illustrations of "the symbolic ambiguity of the Lincoln myth" and the ambiguity of the historical myth, he concludes that "Lincoln's personal myth was the seed from which the historical myth has grown." Professor Williams, concerned with Lincoln's contribution to the functioning of democracy, reviews four primary principles of nineteenth-century American political thought and reasserts that Lincoln was "a derivative rather than a seminal thinker," particularly devoted to "the exaltation of the Union." In a lucid exposition of Lincoln's management of the presidential office, Professor Donald again stresses its "puzzling ambiguity," tracing it to "the Whig creed in which he was raised." In the final chapter on Lincoln as a conservative statesman, Professor Graebner re-emphasizes that domestically Lincoln understood that the employment of force to alter the fundamental nature of human society could be catastrophic and that in foreign affairs, particularly, he revealed his conservative instincts. The great strength of the volume is that it is balanced, succinct, and unpretentious. There is inevitably some overlapping and repetition, even as to specific quotations, but rigid planning and effective editing have reduced these to a minimum. An appendix lists materials selected by Leslie W. Dunlap for display on the occasion of the lectures.

Colgate University

CHARLES R. WILSON

ANDREW FURUSETH: EMANCIPATOR OF THE SEAMEN. By *Hyman Weintraub*. [Publications of the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959. Pp. x, 267. \$5.00.) Professor Weintraub has combined his talents as both trained historian and labor leader to present this simply written and sympathetic biography. Andrew Furuseth is traced with appropriate brevity from birth in Norway (1846) to berth on a sailing vessel, thence to the San Francisco water front after sailing "before the mast" for a number of years. The evils which made of the sailor a veritable slave on and off the wave are well described, including bucko mate and boardinghouse, advance and allotment, crimp and congressional apathy. From his affiliation with the nascent Coast Seamen's Union in 1885 to his death in 1938, Furuseth had but one burning desire, to free the sailor from his serfdom. The La Follette Seamen's Act, primarily the fruit of Furuseth's efforts, climaxed his thirty-year endeavor as labor organizer and lobbyist. For the next two decades he tried to prevent sabotage of the law by courts, administrators, and ship-owners. His unimpeachable honesty, uncanny oratorical sense, essential conservatism, and profound knowledge of world-wide maritime laws and regulations won him the admiration of even his most vitriolic critics. The author weaves his story carefully into the mainstream of history in the early years but gives insufficient notice to general trends after 1918. An unwary reader might erroneously conclude that when the ashes of this venerable sailor were thrown into the sea, his accomplishments were submerged with him, since the account ends abruptly with his death. Weintraub depended chiefly on primary sources and is the first scholar to have unrestricted access to records of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. The work is descriptive and well documented and contains an exhaustive bibliography. This first biography of Furuseth presents some heretofore unavailable material on the inner workings of maritime labor organizations and is a scholarly and useful study in the anatomy of dynamic leadership.

Long Beach State College

NICHOLAS P. HARDEMAN

TEACH THE FREEMAN: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES AND THE SLATER FUND FOR NEGRO EDUCATION. Volume I, 1881-1887; Volume II, 1888-1893. Edited by *Louis D. Rudin, Jr.* ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. c. 1959. Pp. lv, 236; 302.) In 1881 textile industrialist John

F. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut, decided to make a grant of one million dollars for "the uplifting of the lately emancipated race." Bent on recruiting a distinguished trustee board, Slater had one person in mind to head the enterprise—former President Rutherford B. Hayes. Hayes's gracious acceptance launched the Slater Fund on its career of making carefully considered donations to Negro schools. As president of the fund for some ten years, Hayes's incoming mail bag was heavy; letters came from such persons as general agent Atticus Green Haygood, from principals like Tuskegee founder Booker T. Washington, and from individuals soliciting grants for programs of personal improvement, like W. E. B. DuBois, who asked for monetary assistance to cap his Harvard degrees with "a year in study at a European university." *Teach the Freeman* is an ably edited compilation of these outpourings, opening with a forty-page introduction that is at once informative and interpretive, giving vitality to the letters that follow. Rudin's volumes tell us much about the philanthropic spirit in American education, and something about the role of manual labor instruction, the Slater Fund trustees being enamored of vocational training for their beneficiaries.

Morgan State College

BENJAMIN QUARLES

THE CONSERVATION FIGHT FROM THEODORE ROOSEVELT TO THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY. By *Judson King*. With an introduction by *Clyde Ellis* and a foreword by *Benton J. Stong*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, c. 1959. Pp. xix, 316. \$6.00.) This is a valuable book in spite of its faults, not the least of which is its misleading title. It is, as Benton J. Stong says in his foreword, an account of how the Tennessee Valley Authority "came into being as a product of the conservation movement." Mr. King, in his capacity as managing director of the National Popular Government League, was in the thick of the fight for public power. This book was dictated late in his life to his wife and her sister, and finished just before his death at eighty-six in 1958. King takes his readers down the torturous path of the legislative history of federal power policy, pointing out in detail the efforts of private interests (often aided by army engineers) to exploit power sites, and the struggle of a few members of Congress (aided by such people as King) to preserve and develop the sites in the public interest. Although he pays tribute to pioneer conservationists, such as Gifford Pinchot, his chief interest is in hydroelectric power. His heroes in the early twentieth century are Senator Francis Newlands (Nevada), Representative Theodore Burton (Ohio), and Representative William Kent (California). His chief hero after 1921 is, of course, Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, with whom King collaborated closely. Norris' long struggle to preserve Muscle Shoals for federal development forms much of the substance of this book. Franklin D. Roosevelt is another hero, although King admits that he and Norris were uneasy about the President's stand on the subject of government construction of transmission lines as late as forty-eight hours prior to the signature of the TVA Act. The student of recent American history will learn much of importance from this admittedly one-sided volume, but he will wish that King had not been so modest about his own role. Had King told more about his work and quoted less extensively from speeches and reports (available elsewhere to the serious scholar) the work would be of fundamental importance. As a piece of writing the book has other faults—rough transitions, failure to identify persons adequately, numerous minor mistakes that should have been caught and corrected by the editors. But, on balance, it remains a document of considerable value to the scholar, as well as a propaganda weapon for the proponents of public power. Now that King's papers are in the Library of Congress, perhaps someone will undertake a full-length study of this remarkable crusader.

University of Washington

ROBERT E. BURKE

SEAPORTS SOUTH OF SAHARA: THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF AN AMERICAN STEAMSHIP SERVICE. By *Robert Greenhalgh Albion*. With the collaboration of *Jennie B. Pope*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 316. \$6.00.) Professor Albion has written the first good history of a modern American shipping company, the Farrell Lines. He had access to company records and visited the company's African ports of call, but his book is more than a "line history." It is an account of American maritime policy since 1914, a history of American shipping service to Africa, and an excellent, detailed survey of the coasts, ports, and commerce of Africa south of the Sahara. American trade with Africa, once extensive, fell off after the Civil War. Not until the Shipping Board organized regular sailings to Africa in World War I was the monopoly of the colonial powers broken. In 1925 the Farrell Lines took over the South and East Africa run; and service to West Africa began in 1947. By subsidizing "essential trade routes" the government saved the American shipping industry and promoted American export trade. The cost was slight (seventy million dollars since World War I for the African service) and the profit was great (United States ships carried seven billion dollars worth of exports to Africa). The Farrell Lines encouraged African countries to buy American goods and helped develop return trade, for example, South African fruit and fish. Partly as a result of this trade promotion, United States commerce with Africa has grown tremendously (from \$28,000,000 in 1913 to \$1,064,000,000 in 1957). This reviewer has only a few criticisms. Albion's view of maritime labor problems seems too close to that of management. It is questionable that the Boers trekked inland just to escape from English rule (as frontier specialists tied to the Cape market they had to go inland for cheap land and trade goods). Africanists would query President Tubman's so-called "wise leadership," or that the Copperbelt imports any coal through Lobito (the great Wankie coal mines are nearby in Southern Rhodesia). Still, this is an excellent study, valuable to students of American maritime history and African affairs.

Stanford University

PETER DUIGNAN

MASSACHUSETTS PEOPLE AND POLITICS, 1919-1933. By *J. Joseph Huthmacher*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 328. \$6.50.) By 1920 the ethnic composition of Massachusetts' population was extraordinarily diverse. Less than one-third of the population was third generation; the preponderant majority was composed of immigrants and their immediate offspring. The subject of Mr. Huthmacher's study is the political consequences of this ethnic diversity as seen in the seven biennial elections between 1920 and 1932. In an introductory chapter he describes the "urbanized, industrialized, immigrantized Newer American civilization" that was Massachusetts. The electorate was divided into three groups: the "old stock" inhabitants, that is, the "Protestant native Yankees and Protestant British, Scandinavian, and German immigrants and their descendants," who in aggregate numbered a good deal less than half the total population; the Catholic Irish who in the first and second generation alone made up almost one-sixth of the population; and the one-fourth of the people he calls the "New Immigrants"—the French-Canadians, Poles, Italians, Jews, Portuguese, Lithuanians, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Negroes. The old stock were the supporters of the Republican party; the Irish were predominantly Democratic. Only the new immigrants were uncommitted. As Huthmacher details it, the political history of the twenties becomes a history of how the new immigrants came to be supporters of the Democratic party. Initially, in so far as they participated in politics at all, the new immigrants usually supported the Republicans, not only because of the Republican high tariff policy that presumably protected the industries employing them, but also because of the reluctance of the

Democratic Irish to make common cause with them. As the decade advanced, however, and the Democrats, for their own reasons, opposed Prohibition, "Ku Kluxism," immigrant restriction, and "one hundred per cent Americanism," the new immigrants began to identify their well-being with the Democrats. In 1928 Massachusetts was one of the two states outside the South to support Al Smith. The depression, however, was what finally cemented the new immigrant-Irish coalition. Almost in spite of themselves the Massachusetts Irish found themselves in a partnership with the new immigrants in support of Roosevelt in 1932, and the political success of the New Deal made the partnership permanent. This study, filled as it is with statistics and impersonal political aggregates that Huthmacher calls "elements," neglects the exuberantly colorful personalities of the period. Despite its sober grayness, however, this book is an important contribution to an understanding of the reasons for Republican decline and Democratic ascendancy in the urban-industrial states in the years since 1932.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ROWLAND L. MITCHELL, JR.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1941. In seven volumes. Volume II, EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 6788.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1959. Pp. vii, 1011. \$4.25.) Here are almost a thousand pages of documents on American relations in 1941 with the countries of Europe from Belgium to Yugoslavia, excluding Great Britain, Russia, Poland, and Finland, which appear in other volumes. Half of the documents in the present compilation concern France. They deal mostly with North African problems, although there is some account of other matters, such as Franco-German collaboration, the need of food and medicine in unoccupied France, persecution of Jews, and the Free French seizure of St. Pierre and Miquelon. In recent years there has been little debate over American policy toward Vichy (was it a gamble or a fumble?), but any would-be debaters can take to heart these new documents. There appears, among other interesting items, a letter by Admiral William D. Leahy to President Roosevelt in which the Admiral set down his initial impressions of Vichy, a delightful composition obviously penned by the Ambassador in short, one-sentence, sailor-like paragraphs. "We arrived in Vichy at midnight 5-6 January," Leahy began, "after an exceedingly long cold journey by train and motor car from Madrid during which there was one thirty-six hour stretch without sleep and without any sensible heat except that which could be applied internally." The other documents in this volume are of less diplomatic importance, though not of less interest, than those concerning France. Over a hundred pages describe the occupation of Greece, a tragic affair. The American minister in Rumania sends the medieval details of a pogrom in Bucharest: "It makes one sick at heart to be accredited to a country where such things can happen. . . ." Once again the Department of State deserves congratulations on its excellent selection and annotation of documents. No foreign office in the world prints so carefully so complete a record. The Department's Historical Division is woefully short of help, and because of congressional niggardliness will doubtless fall farther and farther behind as its publication of *Foreign Relations* moves from 1941 to the years of American participation in the war.

Indiana University

ROBERT H. FERRELL

THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS: TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT. By *Blanche D. Coll*, *Jean E. Keith*, and *Herbert H. Rosenthal*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1958. Pp. xvii, 622. \$4.00.) This is the first in a series of four volumes which "will describe the participation of the Engineers in the war and

the contribution they made toward winning it." As the title indicates, this volume deals with Engineer troops and equipment and the problems incident to the transformation of the Corps of Engineers, with its highly political rivers and harbors function in peacetime, into the mighty military supporting force that it became during the war. The twenty-two chapters deal with the mission, functions, and organization of Engineer forces and the changes wrought in them by the developing crisis and the war itself; the development, procurement, and distribution of Engineer equipment; and the training of Engineer specialists, combat troops, and units. This is an objective book. For example, the problem of how to select and train thousands of new officers and enlisted specialists from troops who, for the most part, fell in the two lowest test classes is discussed frankly and fairly. This problem was especially sensitive because of the large percentage of Negro troops involved. Other problems accorded similar treatment are the distaste of the Engineers for their subordination to the Army Service Forces and the many difficulties that arose with ASF, the contention for control of the training and operation of the Engineer Amphibian Brigades with the Navy and Army Ground Forces, and a similar contention over Engineer Construction and Aviation units. The student of military history, staff officers, and Engineer officers will find here a storehouse of information on Engineer administrative and operational problems and how they were solved. The extensive documentation and the "Bibliographical Note" are only indications of the volume of material and the depth of research that lie behind this work. The writing, in general, is good and the editorial work, the illustrations, and the index all reflect the high standards established in earlier volumes of the U. S. Army in World War II series, to which the present volume now adds its own unique and valuable contribution. The authors are to be congratulated on their handling of a difficult subject.

Bethesda, Maryland

OUTTEN J. CLINARD

LATIN AMERICA

RELACIONES DE HERNÁN CORTÉS A CARLOS V SOBRE LA INVASIÓN DE ANÁHUAC. Volume I, LAS RELACIONES I Y II. Explanations and corrections by *Eulalia Guzmán*. (México, D. F.: Libros Anáhuac. 1958. Pp. cxxviii, 549.) Not the text of these two letters, previously published many times, but the extraordinary interpretations and interpolations of the editor make this an item of interest. Long awaited, denied official publication, further delayed by Srta. Guzmán's preoccupation with Ixcateopan, the edition takes its place as an extreme statement of the *indigenista* version of the conquest. Its condemnation of Cortés under the guise of scholarship is masterfully contrived. In point after point, in notes that run to many pages, Cortés is unmasked as a liar. He deliberately misrepresented Aztec society (Srta. Guzmán classifies it as a pacifist democracy); he pretended that the Indians killed their own leader; he invented incidents; and he falsely reported the events of the conquest in pursuit of his own ends. The editorial commentary is a thesaurus of pejoratives, so fulsome that two concurrent notational systems are required to keep it in order. Students of conquest revisionism will be particularly impressed by Srta. Guzmán's *ad hominem* argument concerning Cortés' skeletal remains, which were subjected to examination after the exhumation of 1946. These are shown to indicate a stunted, deformed, congenitally diseased, and—with a *coeficiente de cefalización* of only 2.59—a pinheaded conquistador.

State University of Iowa

CHARLES GIBSON

THE INCAS OF PEDRO DE CIEZA DE LEÓN. Edited, with an introduction, by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. Translated by Harriet de Onis. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 53.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. c. 1959. Pp. lxxx, 397. \$5.95.) Among the many accounts of the conquest of South America written by active participants, the so-called "histories" of Pedro de Cieza de León are the least known, due in part to official efforts to prevent their publication in the sixteenth century. This young man played an active part in the events in Colombia and Peru for seventeen years beginning in 1535. He was a firsthand witness to the destruction of much of the Incan civilization, and he left one of the few comprehensive and generally trustworthy accounts of this great Indian empire. The present edition, the first really complete one in English, is embellished by extensive footnotes added by the editor, Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. The translation was performed most capably by Harriet de Onis. A copy of this book should be placed on every shelf next to the more famous chronicle of the Mexican conquest by Bernal Díaz del Castillo.

University of Georgia

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

HISTORIA GEOGRÁFICA CIVIL Y NATURAL DE LA ISLA DE SAN JUAN BAUTISTA DE PUERTO RICO. By Íñigo Abbad y Lasierra. Preliminary study by Isabel Gutiérrez del Arroyo. ([San Juan:] Ediciones de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. c. 1959. Pp. cxxvii, 320.) Some years ago the history department of the University of Puerto Rico initiated a program of republishing the basic works of the island's history. The present text, considered indispensable for a study of Puerto Rico in the eighteenth century, was presented as a report by its author to the Conde de Florida-blanca in 1782 and appeared in three editions between 1788 and 1866. The well-annotated new edition is notable for an excellent preliminary study by Isabel Gutiérrez del Arroyo, who not only sets forth the life of its author and the importance of the work but also makes a detailed critical study showing the sources Abbad used in preparing his report.

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Historical News

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The John H. Dunning Prize of three hundred dollars for a scholarly work in American history (published since January 1, 1958, or in manuscript) will be awarded in December 1960. Preference will be given to work of younger scholars and to those who have not previously published a substantial scholarly work. Entries by authors or publishers must reach the chairman of the Dunning Committee, Professor C. G. Sellers, Jr., Department of History, University of California, Berkeley 4, California, before June 1, 1960. For other prizes to be offered in 1960 see the advertisement of the Association, page xvii.

Miss Patricia M. Fox became the assistant editor of the *Review* on October 1, 1959, upon the resignation of Dr. Mary R. Dearing.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received the papers of Judson King (1872-1958), editor, lecturer, and author, as a gift from Mrs. King. The twenty thousand items span the period from 1900 to 1958, with the bulk of the material relating to the development of public power policy in this country. Of particular interest is Mr. King's extensive correspondence, most of which is dated after 1933, with George D. Aiken, John Carmody, Lister Hill, David Lilienthal, George Fort Milton, George W. Norris, Gifford Pinchot, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Frank P. Walsh, William Allen White, and others. Also in the papers are unpublished manuscripts of his writings about the struggle for control of the Tennessee River and electric power, 1898-1933, and numerous scrapbooks, photographs, newspaper clippings, and other printed material.

Mr. Thomas Maitland Cleland of Danbury, Connecticut, an outstanding figure in the field of book production and design, has presented a first installment of his papers. This segment, consisting of about one thousand pieces, includes a long correspondence (1900-1941) with one of his closest friends and advisers, Daniel B. Updike, founder of the Merrymount Press, and less extensive exchanges with various publishing firms and business organizations. The papers also include original drawings, title pages, and designs created by Mr. Cleland.

Sixty-seven pieces of correspondence have been added to the papers of Duff Green (1791-1875) as a gift from Dr. St. George L. Sioussat. The material ranges in date from 1826 to 1865, but falls mainly within the years 1841-1843, when

Green went to England and France as unofficial representative of the United States in the interest of free trade. The papers of Robert W. Woolley (1871-1958) have also been enlarged by a gift of some four thousand items from Miss Margaret Trenholm Woolley. These, like the main body of Woolley papers, include correspondence with nearly every prominent Democrat of the last half century, and relate to Mr. Woolley's activities for the Democratic National Committee, as Director of the Mint (1915-1916), as member of the Interstate Commerce Commission (1917-1921), and in the later years of his life.

The National Archives has just published Volume XXIV of the *Territorial Papers of the United States*. This is the third volume relating to Florida Territory and contains papers for the period 1828-1834. The 1143-page clothbound volume may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents for eight dollars.

A series of leaflets designed to facilitate the National Archives reference service is now being published. Two of these have just appeared: *Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Files in the National Archives* and *Records in the National Archives Relating to Confederate Soldiers*. These are of special interest for students of genealogy.

The series of preliminary inventories has been extended by the publication of no. 116, *Records of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York*; no. 117, *Records of the Commission on the Renovation of the Executive Mansion*; no. 118, *Records of the Farmers Home Administration*; no. 119, *Records of the Information Department of the Office of Price Administration*; no. 120, *Records of the Enforcement Department of the Office of Price Administration*; and no. 121, *Records of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee*.

The National Archives has also issued a *Supplement* prepared by Gerhard L. Weinberg of the American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents to bring up to date the *Guide to Captured German Documents* published by the Air University in 1952. The *Supplement* describes German documents both on paper and on microfilm in the Hoover Institution, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, the University of Pennsylvania Library, and the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia. It also lists guides to German documents in these and other depositories.

The Committee for the Study of War Documents has also prepared and the National Archives has published four additional guides to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia: no. 10, *Records of the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production*; no. 11, *Fragmentary Records of Miscellaneous Reich Ministries and Offices*; no. 12, *Records of Headquarters of the German Army High Command (Part I)*; and no. 13, *Records of the Reich Air Ministry*.

In addition to the microfilm which is being produced under the direction of the American Historical Association team at Alexandria, Virginia, the following

groups of microfilmed German records have been transferred to the National Archives:

1. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State from various sources, as follows:

Source	Dates	Number of Rolls
Tripartite Project	1855-1945	1,506
St. Anthony's College	1914-1920	144
University of California	1882-1920	97
University of Michigan	1880-1919	46
French Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1886-1919	3
Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique Belge	1887-1918	16
British Museum	1915-1919	2
Miscellaneous sources	1909-1918	7

Most of the microfilm listed above, except for that produced by the Tripartite Project, relates to the period of World War I, although scattered pre-1914 documents have been included.

2. German records filmed at Whaddon Hall by the Committee for the Study of War Documents, as follows:

- a. Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry, 1867-1920. 433 rolls.
- b. Documents from the Archives of the German Embassy at Washington, 1914-1938. 52 rolls.
- c. Nachlässe and Asservate, 1833-1927, chiefly collections of papers of former members of the German diplomatic service. 25 rolls.

Inquiries about this microfilm and orders for film copies should be addressed to the National Archives, Washington 25, D. C. Reference prints of this microfilm are available for use at the National Archives.

Among the recently issued National Archives Microfilm Publications are: Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs from the Idaho (seventeen rolls), Iowa (one roll), Montana (thirty-one rolls), Nevada (eight rolls), Northern (three rolls), and Wyoming (six rolls) Superintendencies, and from ten additional agencies (thirty-nine rolls); Population Schedules of the 1820 Census for the States of Maryland (seven rolls) and New York (eighteen rolls); Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Baltimore, 1888-1891 (seven rolls), and at Boston, 1820-1848 (twenty-five rolls); the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies, 1861-1865 (thirty-one rolls); and Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Georgia (607 rolls).

Additional information about the microfilm and copies of the other publications may be obtained from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, the National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

The fourth volume of the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, that for the year 1955, contains transcripts of all presidential news conferences, speeches, messages to Congress, and other materials issued by the White House. This volume is on sale at the Office of the Superintendent of Documents for \$6.75.

Ground-breaking ceremonies for the Eisenhower Library at Abilene, Kansas, were held on October 13, the day before the President's sixty-ninth birthday.

The first volume of the *Papers of John C. Calhoun*, covering the years 1801 to 1817, was released on October 18 at a special program in Columbia, South Carolina. The University of South Caroliniana Society, the University of South Carolina, and the South Carolina Archives Commission are cosponsors of the project. The Calhoun papers project was the first of a number of projects, modeled on Julian P. Boyd's Thomas Jefferson project at Princeton, that were established throughout the country with encouragement from the National Historical Publications Commission.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences and meetings of various affiliated groups will take place, as previously announced, August 17-28, 1960, in Stockholm, Sweden. The major business of the Congress, of course, will consist of over one hundred reports and papers covering the entire field of history given by historians from most parts of the world. At the Congress, the International Committee of Historical Sciences will consider a major revision of its statutes and elect its officers and members of the Bureau (governing body). Dr. Boyd C. Shafer and Professor Arthur Whitaker (as members of the Assembly) are voting members of this Committee and Dr. Waldo Leland, as a former president, is a councilor.

About twenty-five historians from the United States will give reports and papers or appear as chairmen of sessions (see *AHR*, LXIV [July 1959], 1075-76). The International Historical Activities Committee of the American Historical Association (Arthur Whitaker, chairman) has carefully considered plans for American participation, which it hopes will be large.

Hotel and plane accommodations may be difficult to obtain. Historians who plan to attend should make their arrangements early. Inquiries should be addressed to XI^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Riddargatan 11B, Stockholm Ö, Sweden.

Bernadotte E. Schmitt, vice-president of the American Historical Association, acting as an "observer," attended the meeting of the Bureau of the International

Committee of Historical Sciences in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, September 4-7, 1959. The principal business of the meeting was to make the final arrangements for the Eleventh International Congress to be held in Stockholm in August 1960. The registration fee was fixed at not more than fifteen dollars, with \$7.50 for accompanying husbands or wives. Of the chairmen selected for the thirty sessions, three were from the United States. The question of excursions after the Congress was left to the Swedish committee.

The statutes, dating from 1926, were amended in the light of thirty years' experience, and the revisions will be presented to the Assembly of the ICHS in 1960. Particular attention was devoted to stating the conditions on which historical associations may be admitted to membership in the Committee (they must be devoted exclusively to scientific research and demonstrate this by an adequate list of publications). It was agreed that former presidents of the Committee should serve as consultative members of the Bureau without vote for ten years after their term of office, instead of for life. The number of elected members of the Bureau was retained at six, although the United States urged eight, or at least seven. Provision was made for the exclusion of any national committee or international organization that violates the principles of international cooperation set forth in the statutes, by a vote of two-thirds of the General Assembly.

The entire membership of the Bureau and former President Fawtier were present. Professor Chabod (Italy), whose illness prevented him from attending the meeting in the United States last year, presided most effectively. He opened the meeting with a gracious tribute to the late Donald McKay, who until his death in April 1959 was a member of the Bureau. The members of the Bureau stood for a moment to honor Professor McKay. Among other matters the Bureau discussed the constitution of new commissions within the ICHS, projected ICHS publications, and the dates of the meetings of the various subsidiary and allied groups meeting in Stockholm in August 1960.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

There will be a special meeting of economic historians at the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm, August 17-18, 1960. An international committee headed by M. M. Postan of Cambridge University has organized a program which will include the following American speakers: W. W. Rostow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "Theories of Economic Development"; H. F. Williamson, Northwestern University, "Economic Development in the United States"; B. F. Hoselitz, University of Chicago, "Economic Development in Latin America"; E. A. J. Johnson, Johns Hopkins University, "Economic Development in Yugoslavia"; W. N. Parker, University of North Carolina, "Large Agricultural Estates in American Development"; T. C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania, "Historians and the Theory of Economic Development."

The Thirty-second Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at

the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, July 9-11, 1959. General meetings were addressed by Dr. A. L. Rowse on "The Elizabethan Element in Massachusetts" and by Professor Arthur S. Link, who discussed "On Writing Contemporary History: Challenges and Opportunities." There were ten other papers on various aspects of medieval and modern history. In the enrollments for the Conference the number from the United States and Commonwealth countries reached the exceptionally high figure of 101 persons. It was announced that the annual Conference next summer will be held July 8-10. American scholars who expect to be in England at that time should obtain particulars from the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London, W. C. 1.

The International Academy of the History of Science will hold its Tenth International Congress at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, in 1962. These Congresses, which are held every three years, consist of about five hundred delegates from thirty-five countries in Europe, Asia, and America. At its last meeting, in Barcelona, the Academy elected Henry Guerlac, professor of the history of science at Cornell University, as its new president.

The International Society for the History of Ideas was organized by the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, January 30-February 1, 1959. Its purpose is to arrange for international and regional meetings and seminars of individual scholars in order to promote the interdisciplinary study of the history of ideas and the impact of ideas on society, to examine and to develop the methodology of the history of ideas, and to explore the interrelations between fields of study which now seem separated. The officers of the Society for the current year include: Hans Kohn, president, and Aaron Noland, secretary-treasurer. The office of the Society is located at 137 Finley Center, City College, New York 31, New York.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

Renewed support received during the past year from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the Social Science Research Council's general programs of fellowships and grants has provided the occasion for review and proposed restructuring of these programs.

With a view to greater flexibility in helping individual scholars take advantage of research opportunities, Faculty Research Fellowships will be offered in full or partial support of research for periods ranging up to two years. This new program of Faculty Research Fellowships will supplant both the previous program of the same title and the previous program of Faculty Research Grants. The upper age limit applicable to the former and the restriction of the latter grants to persons who have held the Ph.D. degree for at least five years will be removed, so that awards may be made to scholars of demonstrated research achievement without regard to age. Stipends for periods of six months to a year may not

exceed six thousand dollars, and the maximum award for research extending over longer periods ranging up to two years will be twelve thousand dollars. The new fellowships may be held in conjunction with sabbatical leaves or grants from other sources, but the holders must be free from teaching or other regular duties during any period for which the fellowships provide maintenance in lieu of salary.

Grants-in-Aid of Research will continue to be offered to scholars who require funds only for travel and other research expenses and whose plans do not include prolonged leaves of absence from regular duties. The ceiling on grants-in-aid will be raised to two thousand dollars, and stipends may include limited allowances in lieu of earnings to be foregone during academic vacations.

Predoctoral and postdoctoral Research Training Fellowships will be offered on the same basis as in the past to Ph.D. candidates and recent recipients of that degree who intend to make careers in research and who wish to broaden or deepen their research training beyond the usual doctoral requirements. Fellowship support may also be provided for periods ranging up to not more than twelve months to be devoted to completing the writing of doctoral dissertations.

In addition to the programs just discussed, a number of specialized programs of fellowships and research grants will be offered.

A new program of grants to individual scholars for research in the social sciences and humanities relating to Latin America will be offered for three years beginning in 1959-1960, under the auspices of a Joint Committee on Latin American Studies, recently appointed by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

Requests for additional information and for application forms should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York. Inquiries should indicate briefly the nature of the proposed research and the approximate amount of financial support contemplated, but need not include the detailed budgetary and other information that will be requested on the forms themselves.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has granted the University of California \$47,000 for preparation of a history of the Muslim world.

In the humanities and social sciences the American Academy of Arts and Sciences offers two prizes of one thousand dollars each for a monograph which is a "scholarly contribution to knowledge, too long for an article in a learned journal and too specialized for a general book." The deadline for entry in 1960 is October 1. Details may be obtained from the Committee on Monograph Prizes, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 280 Newton Street, Brookline Station, Boston 46, Massachusetts.

The Wilkie Foundation, Des Plaines, Illinois, has made a grant of \$35,000

for the next five years to continue the research program on the history of tools by Robert S. Woodbury, associate professor of the history of technology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The John Hay Fellows Program will award eighty fellowships for 1960-1961 to high school teachers in the humanities (including history). The fellowship grants cover salary, travel, and tuition. They are open to teachers in designated states only. For further information interested teachers should communicate with Dr. Charles Keller, Director, John Hay Fellows Program, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New York.

A project on the history of the Menshevik movement and related aspects of Russian life is to be launched in the academic year 1959-1960 under the joint sponsorship of the University of Chicago and of an interuniversity committee of scholars, and with the support of the Ford Foundation. A number of two-year fellowships are planned for American scholars. Applications and letters of inquiry may be sent to Professor Leopold H. Haimson, Department of History, University of Chicago, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Burton F. Beers of North Carolina State College has been awarded a fellowship in East Asian studies at Harvard University for 1959-1960.

PUBLICATIONS

James Robertson has been named editor and business manager of *Civil War History*, a quarterly published at the State University of Iowa.

The Committee on Research Projects of the American Society for Legal History is in the process of preparing a "Guide" to needs and opportunities for research in the general field of legal history. It would be most grateful for any pertinent information. Those doing work in legal history should contact Anthony H. Forbes, Chairman, Committee on Research Projects, Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles 24, California.

The Department of State has recently issued the following publications in its External Research series: no. 1.12, *USSR and Eastern Europe*; no. 2.12, *Far East*; no. 3.12, *Southeast Asia*; no. 4.12, *South Asia*; no. 5.12, *Western Europe*; no. 6.12, *Middle East*; no. 7.12, *Africa*; no. 8.12, *American Republics*; no. 9.12, *British Commonwealth*; no. 10.12, *International Affairs*.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

Teacher Supply and Demand in Universities, Colleges, and Junior Colleges, 1957-58 and 1958-59 (Higher Education Series, *Research Report*, 1959-R 10, National Education Association, 1959, p. 51) estimates that there were 8,500 full-time teachers of history in these institutions in 1958-1959. The estimated number

of new teachers of history needed in 1959-1960 is nine hundred and for the years 1959-1970, 11,800.

The Connecticut Valley Historical Museum in Springfield, Massachusetts, has recently acquired the files of the *Smith College Council of Industrial Studies*. This collection consists of the business papers of local firms which are no longer in existence. The bulk of the material contains account books, ledgers, day books, and the correspondence files of the industries. There are also bills, time books, freight records, and treasurers' reports.

At the autumn meeting of the Upper Midwest History Conference, held at the University of Minnesota on October 23, 1959, Professor Richard R. Marsh of Hamline University read a paper on "The German Liberals, 1828 to 1848." Newly elected officers are: The Reverend Vincent Tegeder, St. John's University, president; Professor Erling Jorstad, St. Olaf College, secretary.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

University of Alabama: Bernerd C. Weber promoted to professor, John S. Pancake to associate professor; David B. McElroy appointed assistant professor; James B. Sellers retired. *American University of Beirut*: Joseph J. Malone appointed lecturer for 1959-60. *University of Bonn* (Germany): Lawrence S. Kaplan appointed lecturer for 1959-60. *University of California* (Los Angeles): George E. Mowry resigned as chairman of the department to become dean of the division of social sciences. *University of California* (Santa Barbara): Donald M. Dozer of the University of Maryland appointed associate professor, Immanuel C. Y. Hsu of Washington University, assistant professor, and Thomas W. Africa of the University of California, Los Angeles, instructor. *Cameron State Agricultural College* (Lawton, Oklahoma): Rudia Halliburton appointed instructor. *Campbellsville College* (Kentucky): Fred R. Yoder named chairman of the division of social sciences; Gilbert Tredway appointed assistant professor and James W. Campbell, instructor. *Canisius College*: William Robert Kenny named chairman of the department; Michael D. Zeik appointed assistant professor. *University of Cincinnati*: Hilmar C. Krueger named head of the department to succeed Reginald C. McGrane, who has retired after forty-four years of service; Louis R. Harlan of East Texas State College appointed associate professor. *Cornell University*: D. G. E. Hall of the London School of Oriental and African Studies and Mario A. Levi of the University of Milan appointed visiting professors, John R. Hale of Jesus College, Oxford University, visiting associate

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.

professor, and Leonard Wilson of the University of California, visiting assistant professor; Pearce Williams of the University of Delaware appointed assistant professor; Eugene F. Rice, Jr., and Marc Szeftel on leaves of absence. *Cumberland College*: Daniel H. Hosler named chairman of the department of history and political science and appointed professor.

University of Denver: Calvin D. Davis of Indiana University appointed to the staff. *East Carolina College*: John C. Ellen of the University of South Carolina, Robert W. Williams, Jr., of Lamar State College of Technology, Horton W. Emerson of Piedmont College, and Albert L. Diket of Stephen F. Austin State College appointed to the staff. *Eastern Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*: Ruth H. McCoy appointed instructor. *Emory University*: Norman B. Ferris appointed instructor; R. Bingham Duncan on leave. *University of Florida*: Lyle N. McAlister named head of the department, succeeding Donald E. Worcester. *Florida State University*: George A. Lensen and Victor S. Mamatey promoted to professor and Wallace W. Reichelt to assistant professor; William W. Rogers of the University of North Carolina appointed instructor. *Free University of Berlin*: Manfred Jonas appointed to the staff. *Kent State University*: William F. Zornow of Kansas State College appointed assistant professor; Robert W. Heywood, James M. Powell, Lyle A. McGeoch, and James R. Judy appointed instructor. *Keuka College*: Diane Kubecker appointed instructor. *Lebanon Valley College* (Annville, Pennsylvania): Ralph S. Shay promoted to associate professor. *Long Island University*: Donald Warren, Jr., promoted to assistant professor; Thomas Stirton of Colorado State College and John E. Lane of Columbia University appointed assistant professor. *Los Angeles State College*: David Lindsey promoted to associate professor. *Louisiana State University* (New Orleans): Trygve Tholfsen of the University of California, Los Angeles, appointed associate professor, Wayne M. Clegern of the University of California, assistant professor, and Jerah W. Johnson of the University of North Carolina, instructor.

MacMurray College (Jacksonville, Illinois): James McCosh appointed instructor. *University of Massachusetts*: Harold W. Cary named head of the department; Howard H. Quint of the University of Colorado appointed professor, Harold J. Gordon, Jr., of the University of Pittsburgh, associate professor, and George T. Beech, John M. Headley, Lindsley E. Webster, and Franklin B. Wickwire, instructor; Vincent Ilardi on leave. *University of Michigan*: John W. Hall promoted to professor, with a year's leave of absence; Sidney Fine and Howard H. Peckham promoted to professor and John W. Baldwin and Stephen J. Tonsor to assistant professor; Gerhard Weinberg appointed associate professor; Albert Feuerwerker appointed associate professor, with a year's leave of absence; Siba P. Sen appointed visiting lecturer and Michael M. Luther, lecturer; James B. Crowley, Alfred C. Jefferson, and Richard Soloway appointed instructor. *University of Minnesota*: John Bowditch promoted to professor, Paul W. Bamford to associate professor, and William E. Wright to assistant professor; Josef L. Althoz of

Columbia University and Darrett B. Rutman of the University of Virginia appointed instructor, Ralph E. Giese of the University of Washington, visiting lecturer; Lawrence D. Steefel retired; John B. Wolf and Clarke A. Chambers on leave. *Montgomery Junior College* (Takoma Park, Maryland): R. Justus Hanks of the University of Maryland appointed to the staff. *Moorhead State College* (Minnesota): Edwin C. Blackburn promoted to associate professor. *Muhlenberg College*: John J. Reed promoted to professor.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration (Washington, D. C.): Eugene M. Emme appointed historian. *University of Nebraska*: Albin T. Anderson promoted to professor and Jack M. Sosin to assistant professor; E. David Cronon appointed associate professor, R. Kent Newmyer, instructor; James L. Sellers retired with the rank of emeritus professor. *New York University*: Carleton Sprague Smith appointed professor and director of the Brazilian Institute; Leo Gershoy and Harold Hulme on leave. *University of North Carolina*: James Farnell appointed acting assistant professor, John K. Nelson, instructor; Gustavus Williamson appointed to the staff. *Northern Illinois University* (DeKalb): J. Norman Parmer of the University of Maryland appointed associate professor and named head of the department; Kenneth N. Owens of the University of Minnesota and Melvin Dubofsky of Brooklyn College appointed assistant professor, William D. Putnam and James W. Pringle, instructor; Hugh Jameson, formerly of the social science department, appointed to the history department staff. *Ohio State University*: Frank J. Pegues promoted to associate professor; Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., of Cornell University, Milton L. Farber, Jr., of Ohio State University, Richard L. Heath of the University of Minnesota, Barrie Morrison of St. Anthony's College, Oxford, England, Donald M. Roper of Indiana University, David L. Sterling of New York College for Teachers, Albany, and John J. TePaske of Memphis State University appointed instructor; Lawrence F. Hill retired after thirty-seven years in the department; John T. Krause, Lowell Ragatz, and R. Clayton Roberts on leaves of absence. *Oklahoma State University*: Sidney D. Brown promoted to associate professor.

University of Pennsylvania: F. Hilary Conroy promoted to associate professor; John F. Benton appointed instructor, Alexander V. Riasanovsky, lecturer. *Pennsylvania State University*: Robert K. Murray named head of the department and assistant to the dean of the graduate school; Louis M. Hacker of Columbia University appointed Distinguished Visiting Professor; Donald Kagan and Walter Ralls appointed instructor. *Princeton University*: Arthur Link of Northwestern University appointed professor. *Southern California School of Theology* (Claremont): Leland H. Carlson of Rockford College appointed to the staff. *Stanford University*: Gordon Wright named executive head of the department to succeed Thomas Bailey. *Texas Technological College*: Lowell L. Blaisdell and Merton L. Dillon promoted to associate professor; Van Mitchell Smith appointed associate professor. *Texas Woman's University*: Phyllis Abbott appointed to the staff.

Tulane University: John L. Snell promoted to professor, with a leave of absence; W. Burlie Brown promoted to associate professor and Hugh F. Rankin to assistant professor; Hans A. Schmitt of the University of Oklahoma appointed associate professor; Charles T. Davis and Gerald M. Capers on leave. *University of Virginia*: David A. Williams promoted to assistant professor, Paul M. Gaston to acting assistant professor; Stanley J. Zyzniewski of Harvard University appointed acting assistant professor. *Washington University*: J. H. Hexter on a year's leave of absence to the University of Edinburgh. *Wayne State University*: Bernard Weisberger promoted to associate professor, Edwin Hall to assistant professor; Allen Davis, James Harper, Walter Ullmann, and Michael Wreszin appointed instructor; Rolf Johannsen has retired; Richard Miles on leave. *West Texas State College*: Milton V. Backman, Jr., Mary E. Davidson, John S. Goff, and Frank Heflin promoted to assistant professor; Willard M. Hays appointed instructor. *West Virginia University*: Edward Yurich appointed assistant professor, Frank L. Evans, instructor. *Western Carolina College*: Harold L. Bell appointed instructor. *Western Reserve University*: Carl F. Wittke named Elbert Jay Benton Professor. *University of Wisconsin*: Louis Morton of the Department of the Army appointed professor and Eric Lampard of Smith College, associate professor; William E. Morton of the University of Manitoba appointed visiting professor for the second semester 1959-60, Thomas T. Hammond of the University of Virginia, visiting associate professor, and Kimon Giocarinis of Hiram College, visiting associate professor for the second semester 1959-60.

RECENT DEATHS

Mrs. Maud P. Laughlin, professor emeritus of history, Lebanon Valley College, died December 27, 1958, at the age of sixty-three. She obtained an M.A. degree from Columbia University in 1938, and studied for two years in Australia under a Bayard fellowship. An authority on Australian history, Mrs. Laughlin served as a lecturer and assistant professor at Oxford University during several summers in the 1940's and the 1950's. In 1946 she became chairman of the department of political science at Lebanon Valley College, and in 1951 was appointed chairman of the history department. She published numerous articles and book reviews in journals of several learned societies.

Oscar Doane Lambert, historical records specialist of West Virginia University, died at Morgantown, West Virginia, on June 1, 1959. After obtaining the B.A. degree at West Virginia University in 1916, he did graduate work at the University of Chicago and Johns Hopkins University, receiving the Ph.D. degree in 1929 from the latter university. A career as teacher and administrator in the elementary and secondary schools of West Virginia was followed by service as dean of West Virginia Wesleyan College (1929-1944). He then joined the staff of West Virginia University, serving first as lecturer in history and archival con-

sultant and later (1951-1958) as historical records specialist. Despite the heavy demands on his time made by his teaching and administrative duties, Dr. Lambert did much writing. His publications include: *Pioneer Leaders of West Virginia* (1935); *Presidential Politics* (1936); *Camps and Firesides West of the Alleghenies* (1941); *West Virginia and Its Government* (1951); *Stephen Benton Elkins, American Foursquare* (1955).

Georges Lefebvre, world renowned for his studies of the French Revolution, died on August 28, 1959, shortly after his eighty-fifth birthday. The son of a commercial employee, he was enabled to complete his lycée, licence, and agrégation studies by means of scholarships. After the agrégation in 1898, he taught at a lycée in Tourcoing, and then in the Collège de Boulogne-sur-Mer, and successively at Cherbourg, St. Omer, Orléans, and Paris. He completed his doctorate in 1924, with the remarkable thesis *Les paysans du Nord*, and began university teaching at Clermont. He then went to Strasbourg, and finally the University of Paris, where he succeeded Philippe Sagnac in the chair of the French Revolution—the chair made famous by Aulard and Mathiez. He had barely established a reputation at the Sorbonne when World War II interrupted university attendance. He was involuntarily retired in 1941 during the Nazi occupation, but appointed to give a supplementary course. Although he retired again in 1945, he continued to give a course for a few years, until he felt the burden too great.

Following the death of Albert Mathiez in 1932, he became president of the *Société des études robespierristes* and also directed the publication of the society's quarterly, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*. The list of his articles and his book reviews that appeared in the *Annales* and elsewhere would fill many pages. The *Annales* will issue a supplementary number in his honor, and this will doubtless provide a complete bibliography of his works. Outstanding among his volumes are *Questions agraires au temps de la Terreur* (1932), *La grande peur de 1789* (1932), his new volume in the *Peuples et Civilisations* series on the French Revolution (1951), *Napoléon* (1947), and the best-known volume of all, *Quatre-vingt-neuf* (1939). This last volume is widely known in the United States under the title *The Coming of the French Revolution*. It was written in celebration of the 150th anniversary of the beginning of the Revolution, and will long remain a classic, for it deals with a basic interpretation of the whole revolutionary period through the events of 1789.

Professor Lefebvre suffered a mild stroke in 1957, but his mental faculties were clear until the last day of his life. The modest house in which he lived in the Boulogne-sur-Seine workingman's section of Paris, on the boulevard Jean Jaurès, was the center of editorial activity and of advice to students of the Revolution from all over the world. His devotion to the cause of the Revolution led him to set himself many tasks relative to the *Société des études robespierristes* and the *Annales* in order to save the dwindling funds of the *Société*. Although his

political beliefs were well to the left, he maintained impartiality and breadth of vision in his historical studies and kept aloof from politics. His interest in the peasantry and the city worker during the Revolution arose from his own early life and struggles. At his death, he had been amassing material on the bourgeoisie of the town of Orléans. This study was sufficiently advanced for at least some of the material to be published posthumously. Each of his volumes was a pioneer work. He was suggesting some new approaches and topics as late as the day before his death.

Georges Lefebvre was elected an honorary member of the American Historical Association and of the English Royal Historical Society. His erudition, his enthusiasm, and his initiative will be sorely missed by all students of the Revolution.

Arthur P. Watts, associate professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, died on August 30, 1959, at the age of sixty-nine. Having received his B.A. degree at Occidental College and his M.A. at the University of California, he went on to London and Paris with the LeConte fellowship and studied under Professor Seignobos. In 1925 he received at the Sorbonne the degree of *doctorat-ès-lettres (d'état)* with *mention honorable*. For two years he served as instructor at Harvard University, and for the last thirty-two years of his life was a member of the history faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1943 he joined the United States Army Air Force as first lieutenant (and later became captain and major) where, as a member of the Far Eastern Command's historical section, he wrote four historical studies, the most important of which was his *History of the Air Defense Command*. His other historical works include: *Une histoire des colonies anglaises aux Antilles, 1649-1660*; *Nevis and St. Christopher's, 1782-1784*; and *A History of Western Civilization* (2 vols.). But Dr. Watts was even better known for his teaching and counseling of students. For twelve years he was the major adviser of the history department and devoted many hours and days in a year to the problems and interests of students. This personal devotion to students won him the love and affection of hundreds of those who benefitted by his concern. In 1955 Dr. Watts was elected national president of Phi Alpha Theta. His colleagues and former students will miss his warm friendship and his helpful advice.

Milo Milton Quaife died on September 1, 1959, in an automobile accident near Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Dr. Quaife was born near Nashua, Iowa, October 6, 1880. He received his M.A. degree from the University of Missouri in 1905. He next served as fellow and teaching assistant in history at the University of Chicago, from which he received his Ph.D. degree in 1908. Until 1914 Dr. Quaife taught history in the Lewis Institute of Technology, attaining the rank of professor. From 1914 to 1920 he was superintendent and editor of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He served as editor only from 1920 until his resignation in 1922. In 1924 he became secretary and editor of the Burton Historical Collection

of the Detroit Public Library. Dr. Quaife retired in 1947 as secretary of the above-mentioned collection, and from then until his death he devoted his time to research and editing.

Dr. Quaife served as editor of the Lakeside Classics from 1916. He was also at various times editor of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, *Wisconsin History Bulletin*, *The Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, and *Mad Anthony's Drum Beat*. Author of several volumes, editor of countless others, Dr. Quaife will long be remembered by scores of grateful students and scholars for his wise counsel and scholarly guidance.

Ernest F. Sixta, professor of history at Trenton State College, New Jersey, died October 9, 1959, at New Brunswick, New Jersey, at the age of forty. Professor Sixta received his Ph.D. degree in 1953 from the State University of Iowa. He was a Fulbright fellow at the University of London from 1950 to 1952, and at Trenton had risen from the rank of assistant professor in 1953 to that of professor in 1958. Professor Sixta's scholarly interest as a graduate student was in Stuart England, and he had been developing an interest in modern Russia at the time of his death.

The death on November 7, 1959, of Michael Karpovich, professor of history at Harvard University, deprived scholarship of an outstanding authority in the field of Russian history. Born in 1888 in Tiflis, Russian Transcaucasia, he studied at the University of Moscow and during World War I served in the imperial government. A chance meeting in Petrograd with the newly appointed ambassador of the provisional government to Washington in the spring of 1917 led to his joining the staff of this embassy. What had been intended as a short visit turned, after the Bolshevik coup, into lifelong exile. From 1917 to 1922 he served as acting first secretary of the provisional government's United States embassy, and then spent five more years lecturing in various parts of this country. In 1927 he joined the Harvard faculty, on which he served uninterruptedly from then until his retirement in 1957, first as lecturer and then as professor. In 1949 he was appointed chairman of the department of Slavic languages and literatures, which he transformed in a short time into one of the leading centers of Slavic studies in the country. In 1954 he became the first holder of the Curt Hugo Reisinger Professorship of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

Professor Karpovich's interest lay primarily in the field of modern Russia, especially its cultural and intellectual history. His published works include a survey of modern Russian history, *Imperial Russia, 1801-1917* (1932), and he was editor of a translation of P. Miliukov's *Outlines of Russian Culture* (1942) and with Boris Elkin of Miliukov's memoirs (1955). His articles include studies of Pushkin as a writer and a historian, the thought of Vladimir Soloviev and Tkachev, the relationship of state and church in Russian history, the political ideas of Miliukov

and Maklakov, and the historical antecedents of Bolshevism. In addition to his scholarly pursuits, Professor Karpovich devoted much time and energy to the publication of a leading Russian *émigré* quarterly, *Novyi Zhurnal* (New Journal), a literary and political periodical which he edited virtually since its inception in 1942, and where he published regularly essays and reviews. A superb teacher, he created a whole generation of American historians of Russia. In 1957, on the occasion of his retirement, twenty-six of his students published in his honor a collection of essays called *Russian Thought and Politics* (Harvard Slavic Studies, Vol. IV).

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It was to be expected that conventional critics would not like my book *The Agrarian Foes of Bolshevism: Promise and Default of the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries*, with its verdict of suicide rather than martyrdom in the case of the democratic opposition to Bolshevism. But distaste for the thesis is no license for the kind of review published in the July 1959 issue of the *Review* by A. Gerschenkron, an economist who knows little about the subject and is unwilling to learn more.

His is a remarkable performance. Not one factual mistake has he been able to point to in five hundred pages of text. Not one additional piece of information, overlooked by me, has he contributed from his inimitable fund of knowledge. He says nothing about sources, except to betray a prejudice against contemporary newspapers and pamphlets. Not one word does he say about neopopulism, about factionalism in the party, about the Left SR's, the delay in calling the Constituent Assembly, the nationalities problem, Chernov's "defeatism" or Kerenski's position, organization, leadership, or other matters and findings that together constitute 95 per cent of the study.

He is silent on SR agrarian policy, though he attacks me for not having linked the problems of war and "gentry land." They are linked (pp. 329-30, 358) in a way he would like to forget. I do not put the book in the conclusion. He is silent also on SR war and peace policy except for one statement, and that is wrong. Instead of attempting a defense of what they did—or did not—do, he attacks me for suggesting what they *might* have done. I allot the last five of 485 pages to a purely theoretical matter and he devotes one-third of his space to it. Here is an example of the merit of his "review." But since he has done this, and nothing else of substance, I regret that the space limitations unfairly imposed by your journal prevent me from demonstrating how baseless is his position.

Even this position is not his own. Like the figure of speech of mountain and mouse, it is borrowed from the long, polemical article published by M. V. Vishniak in an *émigré* journal (*Novyi Zhurnal*, LIX [Sept. 1958], 200-15, especially

213), which at least has the merit of not being lifted from another review and of giving some information about the book.

Your reviewer charges that I have "buried" SR policy under a "mountain of angry rebuke." Here, with the help of a figure of speech not his own, he says one thing when he means the other. It is not the burial of the SR record but its exposure which so exercises him. It has been set forth thoroughly and in straightforward language, with the extenuating circumstances, when there are any, with full documentation in 1337 footnotes, citing mainly though not exclusively the SR sources themselves, so that the reader may go to them any time he chooses and reach his own conclusion about what these people did or did not do and, especially, what they said about one another. No wonder the reviewer has chosen to attack the author rather than try his teeth on this granite. No wonder he has been all but exclusively concerned with the conclusion, which is a mere essay after all the heavy work is done. Always he backs away from the record in an unwilling confession of weakness.

He pronounces the results to be "astonishingly meager." Of course they are meager, but why the astonishment? If the SR's accomplished so little, is the author to build them up? Having actually read, though not carefully, the concluding part of the conclusion, this reviewer should then have ventured to read the title, and it would have told him that this was a study in default, not in achievement.

If I had been asked to review a book by Gerschenkron, I would have declined because of ill feeling growing out of an episode in 1954. And if I had been asked to review a book by any other author, I would (1) be sure I knew something about the field, (2) read the book, (3) give some attention to the subjects discussed in it, and (4) write my own review.

University of Texas

OLIVER H. RADKEY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In style and tone Mr. Radkey's comment is an extension of his book. I do not wish to reply to personal invectives, groundless accusations, and imputations of motives. I shall be astonished to see them spread over the pages of a scholarly journal, but this is not my problem.

For the rest, I believe that Mr. Radkey missed the meaning of some of the points I was trying to make in my review. In particular he has misunderstood my statement about "the final yield" of his book being "astonishingly meager." I was not referring to the tragic story of the SR but to what in my opinion was Mr. Radkey's failure to cast much explanatory light upon that story.

Harvard University

ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In my article "England's First Attempt to Break the Commercial Monopoly of the Hanseatic League, 1377-1380" (*AHR*, July 1959), a general statement giving Alice Beardwood (*Alien Merchants in England, 1350-1377*) credit for much of the background material for the study was inadvertently omitted. For this omission I am very sorry.

Humboldt State College

HYMAN PALAIS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

As one of the diplomatic historians who helped compile the *Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1867-1920*, I should like to comment briefly on some of the questions posed by Professor Sontag in his review (*AHR*, [Oct. 1959], 126-27).

The filming programs of pre-1920 files which were started after 1952 by various universities and private organizations did not, until the very end, develop any over-all filming plans nor did they provide any large sums of money. The usual thing was an allocation of two to three thousand dollars at a time with specification of one or two topics on which filming was to be done. The result of this was that a procedure had to be worked out on each project at Whaddon Hall, whereby the available funds were carefully balanced against the number of documents to be filmed on the topic specified. Care had to be taken not to run out of money before the filming was completed, especially since it was never certain that additional funds for the same topic would be available later on.

At the beginning of 1958 a great number of pre-1920 files had thus been filmed by private sponsors, but an almost equally great number had not then been filmed. This was partly due to lack of funds, partly to the fact that smaller, and what appeared to be perhaps less interesting, groups of files had been left out. It was at this point that the Committee for the Study of War Documents of the American Historical Association through generous grants of the Ford Foundation and the Old Dominion Fund agreed to film the rest of the pre-1920 files. Authorization to start this new project was, however, not received at Whaddon Hall until six weeks before the scheduled return of the documents to the Federal Republic. And although this period was subsequently extended for another four weeks (because of technical difficulties in returning the files) there was precious little time left to do the work of selecting and filming to the extent of 450 reels.

The conditions under which these filming projects were set up were therefore such that the historians at Whaddon Hall, who worked on these projects in their spare time, could only do their best with the means available to them. The predominant interest of all filming programs was in documents concerning German foreign policy and not in those concerning the social or economic history of Ger-

many or of any other country except when they had a direct bearing on foreign affairs. The historians making the selections were well trained and qualified and thoroughly familiar with the subject matter. There can be no doubt that they selected for filming all documents of major importance in the field of German foreign policy within the limits of their assignments. They examined all files, both major and minor, on any given topic and we have to trust their respective individual judgments on this point. They had, at first, only very limited funds at their disposal; later on, they had only a very short time to complete the job.

In these circumstances it would be quite impossible to give such binding assurances, as Professor Sontag could wish, that all documents not filmed were either unimportant or duplicates or that several duplicates had not been filmed in different files at one time or another.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE O. KENT

Editor's Note

The Problems of Scholarly Publication in the Humanities and Social Sciences are expertly analyzed by Rush Welter in a useful report sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies in 1959. Two conclusions among the many which will interest scholars are: scholarly publication cannot be expected to be self-supporting; an "uncomplicated scholarly manuscript of good quality can usually count on early publication at no expense to the author." Letters to this editor indicate that a number of historians do not agree with the second conclusion. But Welter's report is well done and is based on numerous questionnaires. If there is extensive evidence to the contrary, historians may wish to communicate with Association headquarters.

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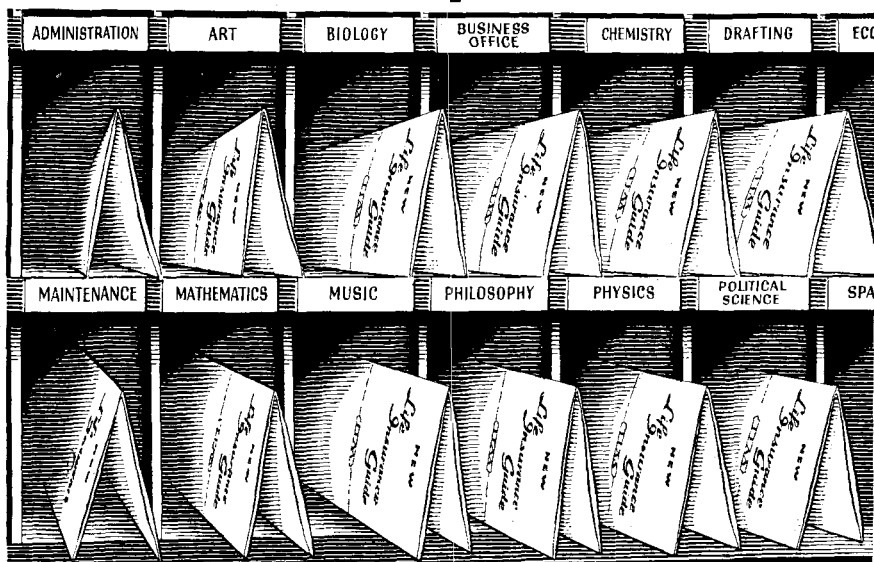
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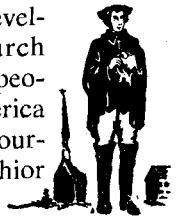
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